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Labor Age

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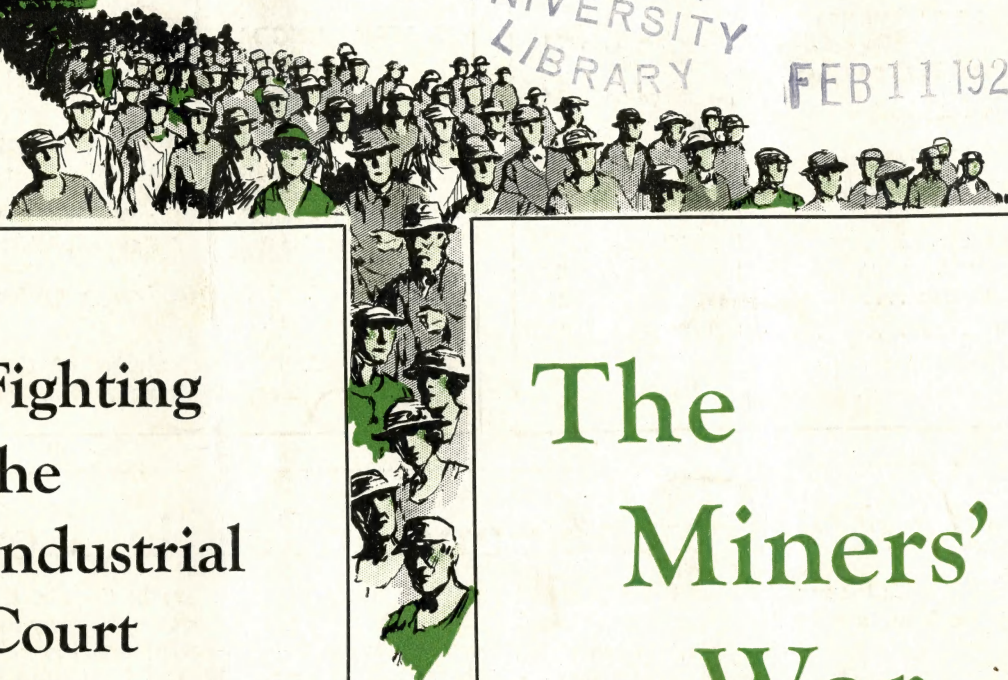
Fighting
the
Industrial
Court



Scott
Nearing
on
American
Labor

The
Miners'
War
Begins

Heber Blankenhorn



CONTENTS:

	Page
THE MINERS' WAR BEGINS..Heber Blankenhorn	1
FIGHTING THE INDUSTRIAL COURT IN KANSAS	
Art Shields.....	3
THE INJUNCTION WORKS BOTH WAYS	
Max D. Danish...	6
OF RAILROADS, COAL COMPANIES, STEEL, BANKS	
Louis F. Budenz...	7
TAKING STOCK OF AMERICAN LABOR	
Scott Nearing	11
THE WORKERS' PARTY IS LAUNCHED	
J. Louis Engdahl..	14
HAVE WE DISARMED?.....Gilson Gardner ...	15
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Prince Hopkins ...	18
FINAL WORD ON THE BUILDING GUILDS	
G. D. H. Cole.....	21
THE MONTH H. W. Laidler.....	
LABOR IN AMERICA.....	23
LABOR ABROAD	26
BOOK NOTES	29
<i>Silhouettes by Gropper.</i>	
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Miners, Railwaymen and Industrial Courts

CO-INCIDENT with the new drive on the miners and railway workers, a portion of the Senate committee investigating West Virginia, has made this report. Senator Kenyon, the chairman, recommends a federal tribunal in the coal industry, similar to the Railroad Labor Board, with only voluntary powers of enforcing its decision. Three other senators—Phipps, Sterling and Warren—advocate the compulsory incorporation of labor unions.

Because of the importance which this subject assumes as a result of this recommendation and President Harding's endorsement of the industrial court idea, LABOR AGE will, in the next number, enlarge upon the articles which it had planned for this issue, and will give particular attention to the whole idea of industrial tribunals.

While these proposals are in the air, the miners face a proposed 20% cut in wages which they have met with a demand for a 20% increase; and the railway men are threatened with a reduction of from 10 to 30%. In West Virginia, where the most bitter fight against the union men has been carried on, all the active union leaders find themselves under indictment for "treason," because of the march of the miners toward Mingo last year. There is no treason indictment against the coal operators for maintaining private guards and subsidizing public officers!

There is little doubt but that an effort will be made by the anti-labor forces to drive a wedge between the miners and the railway men. The answer to that, which solidarity demands, is a continued drive toward making these industries public services.

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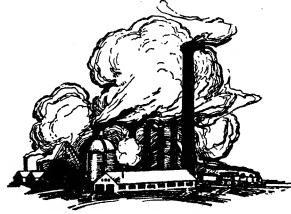
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Labor Age



The Miners' War Begins

Opening Guns Fired in Spring Offensive

By HEBER BLANKENHORN

WHAT chance has the coal miners' union to withstand the spring offensive? The last big labor battle,—the steel and coal strikes in the fall of 1919,—was settled when the miners gave ground. This laid the labor movement open to the open-shop flank attack, even though the miners came off with wage gains.

1922 may see a coal and rail engagement. The course of the miners, to be laid this month in convention at Indianapolis, may be decisive. The miners can become the occasion of fastening a Kansas sort of industrial tribunal on many more than the miners. Or they can open a new chapter in labor history.

Coal operators, union and non-union, want a strike when the contracts expire on March 31. Even anti-labor observers in the government admit that. On a shortage with high prices, and on the chances of halving wages, or crippling the union, or getting rid of the check-off—on these hopes the owners are united. The miners face chaos, within and without, for they are factionally split, losing fights in the non-union fields, bled by slack work in the union fields, harassed by the Washington administration, and at odds with the A. F. of L. Such are the soft coal facts; the anthracite workers are in much better shape, but their fate may depend on the other miners.

Defensive Tactics Will Lose

The union seems to be in for a licking if it remains on the defensive, its eyes fixed solely on wages. It may keep the wages and win bigger things if it can take the offensive and broaden the battle.

If the miners' demands consist of one item, say a 20 per cent increase in wages; if the miners say to the government, "You just keep away," and to the union operators, "you must confer with us," and to the non-union owners, "give us a contract, please,"—the spring communiques can be written now. The government will be present with courts, soldiers, commissions and industrial tribunal legislation; the non-union operators will not be present, and their fight will be the hope of the union operators, who, in December, were already refusing to confer. After some weeks of strike-turmoil, the whole conflagration will seem to be solely a matter of whether a miner's wages should be \$7.50 a day or \$6.50 or \$5.50, providing the cost of living has dropped umpty-umth and two-tenths per cent,—and even working class public opinion will be saying, "Well, the railroaders and everybody else had to take theirs; I guess the miners must come down." Result:—reduction; no national agreements; a scramble by the separate United Mine Workers Districts to save the pieces; small reductions in the solid districts, big in the weaker.

Then the non-union districts, grown larger, will sag again in wages and conditions. And the coal front will be stabilized,—in Flanders mud.

No Wage Reductions

The miners have a good case. Wage reductions will not cure the troubles of a notoriously demoralized industry; will not even insure cheaper coal, as no one knows at present the exact costs of mining. To win their case, what other road can the miners take?

LABOR AGE

There are leaders in the union whose ideas of policy do not go bankrupt after the slogan, "no wage reductions." To the operators they would say, "No 'liquidating war wages' without liquidating war profits." Instead of vaguely hoping that the Federal government will go on a vacation during any national coal strike, they would say to Washington, "Come in. Now. Only, know something before acting. There have been three Senatorial coal inquiries in the past year. There has never been in history an investigation of the coal industry. Publish the facts — capitalizations, profits, all exact costs, including labor, from vein to fire box. The miners will follow the facts. Take that halter of an operators' injunction off the Federal Trade Commission.

"Also, don't make our strike the goat onto which to legislate any anti-strike tribunals. The hurricane deck of a strike is a poor place for the manufacture of a delicate new compass."

The program of such leaders is: (1) An immediate Congressionally-ordered inquiry through permanent agencies which will continue to publish costs and profits; (2) Any Federal agency (designed to arbitrate) to be temporary, to have jurisdiction over the non-union fields and to make its award on the facts found by the permanent inquiry agency.

The "Nationalization" Scare

Others among the mine workers point further along this road. "Strike talk pleases the operators. What scares them is nationalization talk. Every time John Brophy (President of District No. 2, in Central Pennsylvania), makes a speech on nationalization, the operators' magazines throw fits. Talking '20 per cent increase' tickles the owners. Nationalization is the club."

Holders of this view maintain that when the central competitive field operators in December refused President Lewis a conference, they abdicated and left the way open for the union to go to the government with the nationalization policy. Their thought is expressed in the Miners' Pro-

gram adopted a year ago by the central Pennsylvania miners:

Our policy as Miners for 20 years has been a policy of grievances and small demands. It has been a policy of conciliation. Has it cured grievances? It has not. . . .

Has the policy secured A GOOD AMERICAN LIFE for the miner? Not yet. Not last year. Not this year. Nor next year. . . .

If they keep on with the present policy, New Year's Day of another century will still see the profits in the pockets of the owners, and management and control run by Wall Street. The locals will still be debating societies, instead of instruments of control. The miners lose. The public pays. The same old system goes on forever.

Something is wrong with the policy of the Mine Workers.

In the past, the miners have always been on the defensive. Everything they ask sounds like a demand and an exaction at the expense of the public. . . . The way out is to throw the owners on the defensive by exposing profits and proving mismanagement. The public knows they are being "stung." They think the miners are stinging them. Show the public that the owners are stinging them.

We must never fight a grievance again except by heading it up into the larger program.

What Will Come Of It?

Those holding this program demand the enactment of the union's nationalization policy, adopted at the Cleveland convention in 1919—pushing a Congressional bill for public ownership and democratic operation and an alliance with the railway unions.

What chance have these plans for sober discussion at the coming convention? Not much. The biggest factor in the coal situation is the split in the union. It has no relation to the union's policies for April, but it will be the deciding factor. The union administration began the fight but is powerless to end it. The case was presented in the last LABOR AGE by leaders on each side. The fact of the split has since grown larger than any reasons that can be advanced for or against it. This spring, the split will make or mar the coal diggers.



Fighting the Industrial Court in Kansas

By ART SHIELDS

THE INDUSTRIAL COURT IDEA

The industrial court law, passed by a special session of the legislature in 1920 at Governor Allen's request, is a compulsory measure. The story of how the Kansas miners have opposed it is recited here. The international organization of the United Mine Workers is also contesting the constitutionality of the law in the courts. The idea has been adopted in Colorado, where the Denver Butchers' Workmen have defied it. It was unsuccessfully proposed in Texas and is now before the legislature in New York.

THE comparatively tiny mining district in the south-eastern corner of Kansas has been receiving attention far beyond its industrial importance in the last two years, because it represents the extreme left wing of direct actionism and insurgency in the large and conservative United Mine Workers of America.

Nine thousand miners striking four months for a non-economic goal—the release of two leaders who broke the hated Allen Industrial Court law—have set a precedent in American labor history that is in some ways more extraordinary than the armed marches of West Virginia.

Armed marches have occurred a number of times in the American labor movement, from the march of the Knights of Labor men of McDowell County, West Virginia, in the early eighties to the Battle of Logan County last September, but never before have several thousand families sustained the privations of a winter strike, month after month, for the sole purpose of forcing open the jail doors that guarded labor prisoners.

Kansas Stirs Miners

Regardless of what arguments may be advanced about the contract technicalities of the case, the class action of the Kansas miners has struck a responsive chord in the bosom of hundreds of thousands of American union men, and served to stiffen the militant spirit of the rank and file of the miners who will face the mightiest of open shop onslaughts this coming spring.

The strike of the miners is being carried on by the miners themselves. It is not a one-man affair.

The miners of Kansas went on strike as per arrangement when Howat and Dorchy went to prison. Alexander Howat did not call the strike nor should he be given undue praise or censure for his decision to go to prison instead of signing a bond guarantee to call no more strikes. At the 1920 convention of the district, the constitution and by-laws were amended so that a fine of \$5,000 would automatically attach itself to any district official who recognized the Industrial Court law passed by a special session of the legislature in January, two months before—a law which nullified the principles of collective bargaining on which the union was based. As believers in the primacy of industrial democracy, Howat and Dorchy could do nothing less than obey the ruling of their union.

Allen's Court Gets Busy

And this they did from the start. A summons to Howat and his board members to testify before the Industrial Court early in the Summer of 1920 brought no answer, nor did they back down when a Crawford County judge ordered them confined in the county jail till they would consent to testify. Appeal to the state supreme court was followed by appeal to the United States Supreme Court, Howat getting out of jail on bail in a couple of days. Not a pound of coal was mined while he was incarcerated, and the state failed to take up the challenge against these thousands of violators of the anti-strike law.

Again, in February of 1921, the Allen legislation was flouted in the strikes at the two George K. Mackie mines to enforce the payment of \$225 back pay which the district joint board of union



Times Wide-World Photos

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THE WOMEN'S ARMY IN KANSAS

Forcing Anti-Howat Miners to Abandon Work at Mine Mouth

men and operators had ordered turned over to a youth named Carl Mishmash. The strike was won in three weeks, the Industrial Court getting on the band wagon and ordering payment after the company had already surrendered. However, Howat, Dorchy and four members of their executive board were arrested on charges of violating the Industrial Court law and a special injunction, which Attorney General Hopkins had earlier secured to prevent the calling of the very strikes that the Allen law was designed to forestall.

Prosecution on the Industrial Court charges was temporarily delayed while Howat, Dorchy and the board members were sentenced to one year in the Crawford County jail on the contempt charge arising out of the breach of the injunction. Again the mines of Kansas were tied up till bail was allowed. Appeal was taken and lost in June and the case is now pending in the U. S. Supreme Court.

For the calling of another strike, in the little Patten mine in March, Howat and Dorchy were sentenced to jail till they should pay fines of \$220 and sign \$5,000 conditional bonds against future violations of the injunction. Execution was halted and the case is now before the Kansas Supreme Court.

The President and Vice-President of District 14

are now in Columbus jail following criminal prosecution under the terms of the Industrial Court act for the Mackie mine strikes. The contempt case had been arbitrarily decided by a judge but in this case they received a jury trial—with union men excluded from the jury—and were sentenced to serve six months in the Cherokee County jail at Columbus. Kansas law allows no appeal from a jury conviction till the defendants sign bonds not to repeat the offense. But, as in all other cases, Howat and Dorchy remained firm in their refusal to sign away their union rights.

The Provisional Government

On the refusal of the Kansas miners to return to work in any numbers, the charter was taken away and a provisional government was set up, headed by two former Howat officials and under the control of President Lewis's special representative, Van A. Bittner.

The joint efforts of the International organization and the Southwestern Interstate Coal Operators' Association to put the miners back to work gained little headway during the month of November. Some 350 men came in from beyond the borders of the state and as many more from the ranks of the Kansas strikers. The outsiders were a mixed lot of miners

and general laborers, with a low efficiency average, but the Kansas men were mostly practical miners. Nearly all of these local men were Americans, by birth as well as in the usual hundred per cent sense. It is significant that the foreigners in the Pittsburg district were the staunchest strikers, and it is the special boast of the Italian population that not a single one of their men "went scabbing."

In the first days of December a careful census of the mines of Crawford and Cherokee Counties showed a workable minority in a number of the larger "deep" or underground mines. A number of the small "strip" or surface mines were also in operation.

Help From Illinois

By this time considerable help had arrived from outside. Some \$75,000 worth of Illinois food was coming in monthly from sympathizers in District 12, and scattering assistance from United Mine Workers locals in various parts of the country. The Kansas Federation of Labor gave its official support and raised funds. But in spite of all this, the growing number of strikebreakers was causing uneasiness.

Pure and simple economic action—striking with folded arms—was not getting the desired results. While the men were wondering what to do, the women got busy.

The women laid their plans Sunday afternoon, December 11, at a mass meeting for women only in the town of Franklin, in the heart of the "deep" mining district of Crawford County. Their decision was flashed to all parts of the district, and next morning hundreds of automobiles arrived in South Franklin with nearly a thousand women. They arrived there just before the first morning interurban cars came in from Pittsburg with their freight of 120 strikebreakers for the big Jackson-Walker mine near by. The women met them with such enthusiasm that they jumped back on their cars in a hurry—many without their hats and dinner buckets.

The Women Act

Next morning 2,500 women in four squadrons raided nearly all the big mines of Crawford County, capturing the men as they came to work, or blowing the whistle and bringing them to the surface if they had already gone underground. A shaking up and a good scaring made each strikebreaker glad to give his earnest

parole that he would never do it again. Sheriff Milt Gould and his deputies were at hand both mornings, but were helpless spectators of the cheering thousands, marching with the American flags at their head. Once when the Sheriff tried to protect a strike-breaker, an American flag was conveniently draped before his eyes by a buxom marcher.

Wednesday morning's marching finished the job in Crawford County, and in all the mines of Cherokee County there were hardly one hundred men who stayed on the job and risked the hourly danger of a visit from the fair sex army.

Then the state guardsmen came, eight hundred strong, to patrol the mine mouths. At the same time Mr. Bittner redoubled his appeals to the workers to return in obedience to their contracts.

Finally, Governor Allen ordered the removal of 250 troops, on the protests of taxpayers. As this is written there are about 400 men working contrary to the will of the Howat forces. Should the strike continue till the end of Howat's term in March, it is not likely that the number of workers will increase perceptibly.

Should the Strike Go On?

Opinions are divided among strategists in the insurgent movement of the United Mine Workers as to whether the Kansas miners should continue their strike till the end. On the one hand, such a demonstration of continued resistance to vicious legislation is inspiring to workers elsewhere, and also it is doubtful whether the union pride of the Kansas miners will admit of their going back to work without accomplishing their purpose. However, certain tactical reasons seem to call for their return to work.

The Kansas miners and their supporters also need a breathing spell before the nation-wide fight which is expected in April. The bitter internal struggle has weakened the vigor of the organization, already sapped by unemployment and strike relief in West Virginia, Washington and other places.

But whatever tactics finally win out, the Kansas miners have already demonstrated their indomitable courage and tenacity and have given some indication of the kind of contest which may be expected of the advance guard of the miners when they have extended their ranks and clarified their aims.

The Injunction Works Both Ways

By MAX D. DANISH

THE injunction granted last month by Justice Wagner to the Cloakmakers of New York against the leading association of employers in the industry forbidding this association to carry out its resolution promulgating the piece-work system and the 49-hour week, which precipitated the strike of the 55,000 workers in the industry on November 14, 1921, has aroused widespread comment and considerable divergence of opinion.

The interest excited is not due to the upsetting of any legal precedent. The Wagner decision is based on the traditional inviolability of contracts. The novelty of the case lies in the fact that it is the first time in American industrial history that organized labor has sought legally, in the course of an industrial dispute, to restrain capital from violating a contractual obligation.

The interesting thing about the adverse criticism levelled at these injunction proceedings is that they have come from the two extreme angles in the labor movement,—the “ultra-conservative” and the “ultra-radical.” From the conservative wing this criticism has been rather inarticulate. Reluctant to appear as criticizing the action of another union or interfering in its affairs, their point of view, in brief, was that the American labor movement has always been unrelenting in its opposition to injunctions. Consistency, and the belief that, on the whole, the courts are prejudiced against them should, therefore, keep the unions from going into the courts.

From the extreme radical end came the objection that the appeal of the cloakmakers for an injunction to a court of equity against their employers gives sanction to the usage of the powerful weapon of the injunction in the hands of employers. It was argued that at best, the labor unions can obtain favorable decisions only on rare occasions while the majority of judges will always favor capital. It was also said that successful injunction proceedings against employers is likely to undermine the morale of the workers because they may strengthen their confidence in capitalistic courts and weaken their revolutionary faith.

The initiators of the successful counter-movement in the injunction proceedings of the Cloakmakers' Union, occupying the center, as it were,

between the “conservatives” and the “ultra-radicals,” reply to this criticism approximately as follows:

From the outset they make it definitely clear that they have not changed their position one iota on the iniquity and absurdity of government by injunction, least of all as the proper method of adjusting industrial disputes. The fact, however, remains that as matters stand today, the principle that unions may be enjoined by the courts upon multiple occasions and pretexts is definitely and firmly established in our whole system of jurisprudence. Class-conscious workers are therefore justly opposed to injunctions and they strive to abolish them. But one of the most promising and effective means of curtailing or abolishing the use of injunction in labor disputes is to endeavor persistently to turn it against the employers.

This point of view is epitomized best in the position of Morris Hillquit, chief counsel for the Union in this suit. We quote from his statement:

“So long as the injunctions hit the workers only, the ruling classes will see to it that they are maintained and extended. But when they are hurled against employers, they will rapidly sink into disrepute. If the organized workers will systematically seek to enjoin their employers from the commission of the same kind of acts as they are chronically enjoined from, the courts will not be in a position to deny such relief without stultifying or discrediting themselves.

“One of the principal merits of the precedent established in the present suit is that it will tend to make injunctions less popular with employers. *I hope it will lead to a radical limitation and eventually the complete abolition of judicial interference in labor disputes by means of injunctions.*”

In a word, the leaders of the Cloakmakers' Union, while gratified over the great moral victory which they have attained for their organization in winning this important injunction suit against their employers, do not for a moment lose sight of the ultimate aims of the labor movement. They are not fooled into thinking that a new era of real justice is to be ushered in by the Wagner decision. They, nevertheless, maintain that by having adopted this radical departure in legal tactics in their fight against their employers they have found a way to wield for their own benefit a double-edged weapon which has heretofore been wielded with deadly effect by their enemies only against themselves.

Of Railroads, Coal Companies, Steel, Banks—

And Their Joint Attack on Labor

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Two great drives are being launched against labor at the present time: one in the mining industry and the other on the railroads. Is there any connection between these attacks? There is, a very definite connection. Those in control of these industries are close, inter-locking allies—controlled in turn by the anti-union U. S. Steel and the house of J. P. Morgan & Co. Here is a small bit of the story, more of which we plan to tell from time to time:

THE railroads and the mining industry of the country are in a bad way, they both contend. The railroads, like the huge Gulliver among the pygmies, find themselves tied to the ground, rolling about in their helplessness and shouting at the top of their voices. "It is railway wages that have brought us to this low condition. Give us a reduction in these wages, and still further reductions and we will become strong again. We will also be able to help the rest of the country become strong." All through the press their shout resounds. It appears just and plausible to honest men—who do not hear the other side.

How New York Banks Control

BUT labor has another story to tell. It has not the megaphone which the railroads possess. But it has some facts. Far from binding down the railroads, it has itself been brought to grief by the employers' foolish refusal to see the true cause of their troubles. The thing that has bound the railroads down is something quite different from wages or labor conditions. In their case before the Labor Board in October, the unions pointed eloquently to the fact that New York bankers are in control of the transportation system. These bankers are "the powers behind the throne" in the large coal companies of the country. They are also in control of the supply companies which furnish railroads with necessary equipment, and do the so-called "outside" repair work. Look at the graphs on pages 9-10 of this issue, and the story is pretty well told. It means just this: that members of the board of directors of New York banks control 270 directorships of 93 Class I railroads. The boards of the principal railroad systems do not often number more than 15 directors. The New York banks, as can be seen on the graphs, average 4 or 5 members on the boards of each of the principal systems. These same banks have 54 directorships in "outside" repair concerns. Among these concerns will be noted the big steel companies, headed by the United States Steel Corporation, the father of the "Open Shop" movement. *Twenty-five Wall Street men alone control 103 railroad directorships.* The average man on the street knows practically nothing about these facts. When he hears that the wages of the miners must be reduced

or that railway wages must come down, he does not know that this move is coming from the one central quarter: the bankers who control the situation. When he hears that wages mean high rates or big coal prices, he does not know that the real cause of the trouble is the great wastes which it is to the interest of the employers to produce and continue. When out of a clear sky in some other industry his own wages are reduced, he does not realize that he is paying for some such management wastes as these, also—wastes that amount to 75 per cent of all the waste in industry, according to the Hoover engineers' report.

Here is the way these facts are summed up in the Railroad Unions' statement to the Labor Board in October:

"1. That the control of the transportation system of the country including nearly every important system today centers in New York City and that the main lines of policy for the industry are determined on a national basis by a comparatively small group of New York banks.

"2. That this group of New York banks is closely knit together into a single unit through a maze of interlocking directorates and that leadership in this combine has been maintained through credit control by the House of Morgan.

"3. That this control extends not only to the various railroad systems but also to the chief industries of the country which furnish the railroads with fuel, material for maintenance of way and equipment, new equipment and other supplies.

"4. That certain members of this financial group are primarily railway directors and that they constitute what might be termed The Railway Department or Committee of this Unified Financial Combination.

"5. That Thomas DeWitt Cuyler and W. W. Atterbury (of the Pennsylvania Railroad, handmaiden of United States Steel) who are at present leading the attack upon the organized employees of the road, both before the country and the Railroad Labor Board, are members of this Railway Committee of the Combine.

"6. That the spread of control of this New York Railway Department extends to every section of the country, thereby accounting for the fact that the present policies are being followed on a national basis."

LABOR AGE

Good Management Discarded

THIS means a whole lot more than appears at first sight. It means that good management goes up the flue. Both to strangle union labor and to increase the profits of the equipment companies, the railroads let out their repairs to a number of favored and allied concerns. These shops charge prices on freight cars of \$600 a car higher than the cost of car repairs in the railroad shops. This one item alone would add about \$30,000,000 to what the people must pay for the upkeep of the roads.

For, under the Esch-Cummins act, known as the Transportation Act of 1920, the railroads are guaranteed by the government, 5½ to 6 per cent on a capitalization to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. High costs need, therefore, not disturb the roads; they will get their return no matter what the cost may be. And how splendid to be able to make those costs swell the coffers of the bankers in control by making them flow into the hands of these repair and equipment companies! This Esch-Cummins arrangement is the same sort of scheme that the banks are trying to put through in every American city on the street railways under the name of "service at cost."

Huge Wastes that Swell Bankers' Coffers

ON locomotive repairs there is even a more appalling result. The Baldwin Locomotive Co. does the large part of the repair work sent among "outside" concerns. According to figures prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the cost of the different classes of repairs per locomotive for the Pennsylvania Railroad (on so-called L-1 locomotives) ranged from \$15,047.56 to \$16,031.52 at the Baldwin works. At the railroad's own shops the prices were \$4,087.47 to \$5,883.28! For the H-9 and H-10 types of locomotives, the comparative costs were: Baldwin, \$25,571.52 and \$23,431.52; railroad shops, \$3,826.29 and \$4,690.49. So that the Baldwin costs were from three to five times those of the company's own shops. And yet, the road was letting out its repairs in large quantities to this concern. The excess costs of locomotive repairs per year would amount to at least \$50,000,000. This gives a little insight into what banker control means for wastes and inefficiencies in management—but only a little. All in all, the railroad unions have shown that \$2,000,000,000 a year is thrown to the winds by deals of this kind, improper financing and the useless duplication which government control stamped out for a time but which the financial interests immediately restored. Is it little wonder that one of the first attacks launched by the railroads in their drive for a new wage reduction has been upon the experts employed by the unions, in an effort to make the men lose confidence in them? It is clearly not wages that should be reduced, but these huge wastes that under the Transportation Act the people must make good.

Coal and the Trail of Steel

WHEN it comes to coal, the same story can be told. Here it works both ways. The railroads use one-third of the coal mined. It is one of the largest of their costs. The price of coal, in turn, depends greatly on the transportation rates. The chart tells only part

of the story. As Samuel Untermyer pointed out in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in the recent West Virginia investigation, the Norfolk and Western Railroad owns all the capital stock of the Pocahontas Coal and Coke Co., operating in West Virginia. It, in turn, is controlled by the United States Steel Corporation. But the trail of steel only begins there. The United States Coal and Coke Company, the largest West Virginia operator, is owned by the Illinois Steel Company, which is owned by the Federal Steel Company of New Jersey. The Federal Company is owned by the United States Steel Corporation. The other big anti-union mining territory—the Birmingham region of Alabama—is dominated, likewise, by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., a vassal of United States Steel. There, the miners showed in their West Virginia investigation, the same conditions (in regard to denial of free speech, the use of thugs and spies, etc.), exist as in West Virginia. Mr. Untermyer, in his testimony before the Senate Committee, in which he linked up the anti-labor policies of the West Virginia coal operators with the Steel Corporation, said: "I do not want to go into a general tirade against the Steel Co., but I regard the Steel Co. as the greatest enemy to industrial peace in the country."

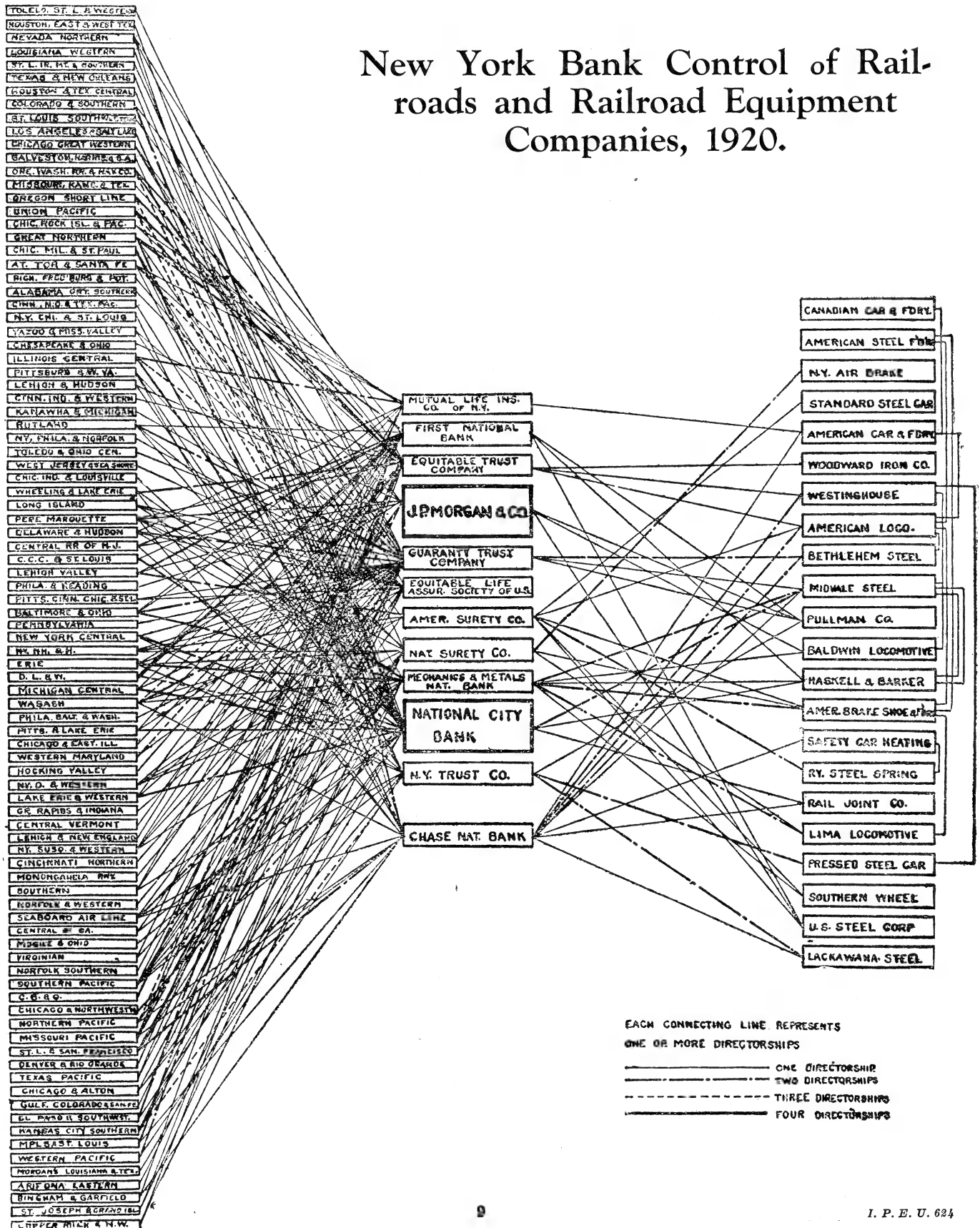
The Iron League

HE then proceeded to show not only this interlocking interest in West Virginia, but what he had found in New York in the Lockwood investigations: that the Steel Corporation formed the Iron League among the steel manufacturers, compelling the contractors to buy only non-union steel. He also brought out the fact that Mr. Morgan the elder in his testimony before the Pujo committee investigating the money trust, had confessed that he dictated the appointment of all the directors on the Steel Corporation. So that it is as clear as day that the attack on labor, extending out through the country on all sides, against the miners, the railroad men, the building trades, and all sorts of workers, comes eventually from the same source: Wall Street and the Steel Corporation, Wall Street's fairest daughter. It is not an "open shop" issue at all, but as Mr. Untermyer says, a "crusade against organized labor." And, as he also stated from his experience, employers are whipped into line in practically every industry, not only through this direct control, but also by "influence" and the credit power which the banks can wield over them.

The only way to smash the vicious circle of control is by the method which both the miners and the railway men have endorsed: Make all these great public services public property. It can be seen that the cry which the interests raise about "the welfare of the public" is a false cry, to range the professional classes and other groups of workers against the particular group which the interests are at any time attacking. For, the interests are busy robbing them all (through such devices as the Esch-Cummins Act and the wastes they encourage) while assaulting the workers in their immediate employ. Nothing can better show the insincerity of the employers' propaganda cry about the public, than the counter-battle slogan: "All public industries for the public service only"—with the workers in each industry participating in control.

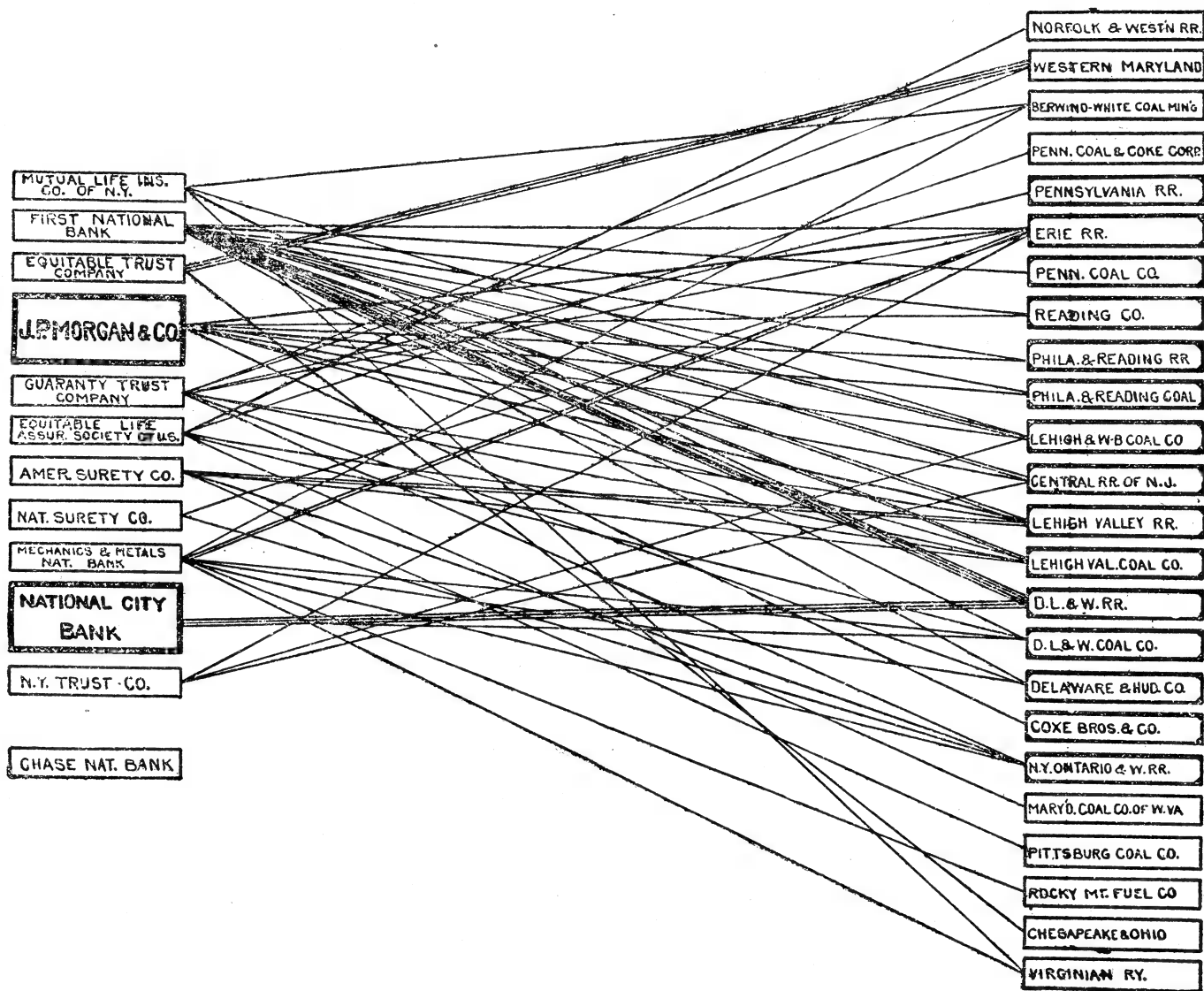
Why Wages "Must" Be Cut

New York Bank Control of Railroads and Railroad Equipment Companies, 1920.



The Banks and Coal

New York Bank Control of Coal Mining Companies and Coal Railroads, 1920

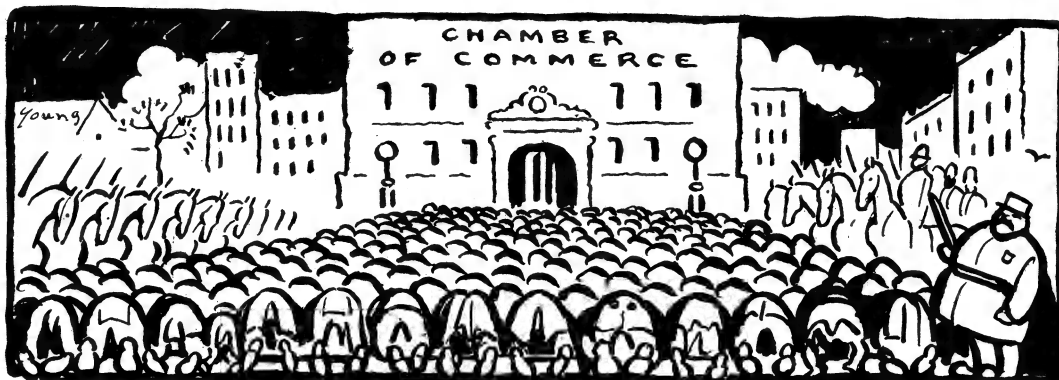


I. P. E. U. 624



Taking Stock of American Labor

By SCOTT NEARING



I. P. E. U. 624

DURING more than six weeks I have been traveling through the country—going as far west as Denver and as far south as Mexico—visiting a new city or town nearly every day, and during those weeks I had an excellent opportunity to come into first-hand contact with all kinds of people in all types of industrial districts. I met them, talked with them, listened to their stories and came away with some pretty clear impressions—superficial ones, of course, but none the less emphatic.

Business is bad throughout the country. With the exception of the southwest, where high-priced cotton and newly-discovered oil have helped to save the day. Business is very bad, and there is no indication that there will be an early resumption.

The present economic system is so organized that there must be a buyer with money or credit in his hands, before goods are produced or released from the warehouses. The streets of a city may be filled with barefooted children, but no shoes will be made until the children get money with which to buy them. It is purchasing power, therefore, that is the fuel of industry.

Havoc in the Labor World

PURCHASING power in the United States, measured in money terms, has been cut nearly in half during the past fifteen months. The resulting devastation in the business world may be easily imagined.

The same catastrophe which has bowled over the prosperity of the world of business has played havoc with the world of labor. How could it be otherwise when the world of labor depends upon the world of business for the opportunity to earn its daily bread?

The farmers—a third of the workers of the country—must pay high prices for the things that they buy, while they are offered low prices for the goods that they have to sell. The result is that they are storing their grain, as far as they can, in anticipation of a rise in price, while, as one of them put it, “we do not go to town because we might see something that we would want to buy.” So the rural towns are dead, while the farmer, dismissing the hired man, goes out into the field to husk

his own corn—perhaps for the elevator; perhaps for the stove.

The industrial workers are equally hard hit. Unemployment is rife everywhere, but particularly in those regions which depend for their industrial activity upon the demand for some form of machinery—engines, automobiles, farm equipment and the like. At all points there have been wage cuts, and part-time work is quite general in all of the important industries. Rents have not decreased greatly. Prices are reduced on some articles, but for the most part the worker is facing the winter on a far lower income level than that of the past few years.

There was a characteristic situation in Cleveland when I went to speak for a church forum. The Sunday that I was there the Cleveland Plain Dealer contained two pages of ads, listing houses and apartments for rent. Men were taking jobs at two dollars a day, and there were advertisements for labor at fifteen cents an hour. “Are many of the men in your church out of work?” I asked the man in charge of the forum. “We have fifteen trustees,” he replied. “At the moment, eleven of them are looking for jobs.” In a neighboring town I talked with a mechanic who had had eleven weeks of work in the past ten months. He had invested his last six dollars in silk stockings which he proposed to sell “among the swells.”

There were some of the smaller industrial cities in which there was no factory or shop running on full time, and in some of which there were none of the important plants running at all. In these places the outlook was as dark as it had been at any time in their history, and yet the attitude of the men was the same everywhere.

Air Full of Promises

YES,” said the machinist in a town on the Mississippi, “all three of the shops here are closed at the moment, but they are going to open up again in a couple of months. Wages must come down, I suppose. They are already cut nearly in half.”

The air was full of promises of resumption. In many instances, the resumption was scheduled to take place as

LABOR AGE

soon as the men were willing to accept the posted reductions in wages and the open shop. There were no strikes in progress—just a tacit agreement to try it out and see who could stand it the longest.

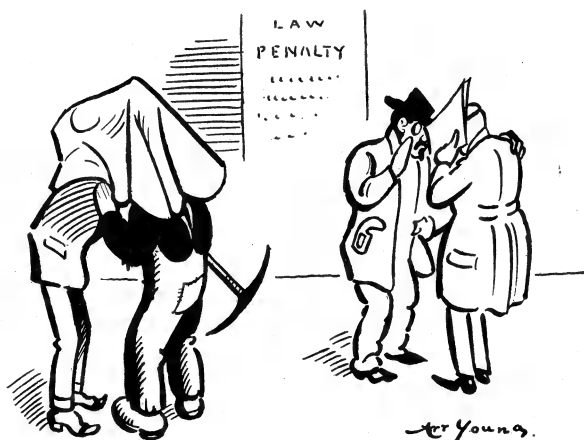
"No, I don't look for any wage cut," said a conductor on the Santa Fe.

"Yes, we are running light tonight," he replied, in answer to a question. If this is all the business we do on these through trains, what must it be like on the smaller roads. Things will pick up, though."

The same tone of optimism pervades the labor world that is to be found in the business world. "This thing will hardly last over the spring," they say.

Unions Hard Hit

MEANWHILE, there is a heavy loss in the union membership. In one city where the industries were fairly stable, the membership in the machinists' union had dropped from 1,300 to 600. In some of the Ohio automobile towns the membership in the same union had fallen to a fifth of its 1920 proportions. The opinion among the union officials seemed



I. P. E. U. 624

Discussing "Radical" Ideas in America, 1922

to be that the unions were losing their war-time gains.

The unions are still thinking in terms of craft organization and internal politics. Their loudest utterance is a hunger cry, and their watchword, in a pinch, "I won't play!"

The Santa Fe conductor was discussing the rail strike then under consideration in Washington. "I never could see what interest we have in their affairs, anyway," he said, referring to the trainmen. "Let them fight their own battles." A few days later his elected representatives in Washington and Chicago conferences echoed practically the same words.

The war has come and the war has gone, but the labor organizations of the United States are still the labor organizations of the United States—the same yesterday, today, and, so some of them seem to believe, forever.

Of course, there are the radical members and the radical officials, who, like Howat, of the Miners, are willing to go to the mat on what they believe to be their rights. But they are very few and far between, at least in the

realm of officialdom. That was pretty clearly demonstrated in the case of Howat—voted down in the Miners' Convention; later deposed by Lewis as President of the Kansas District, all the time that he was under sentence, and after the convention, actually in prison for the crime of calling a strike.

The living standards of the workers are being steadily beaten down through unemployment, wage cuts and short time. Union membership is dwindling. The open shop campaign, carried on in all parts of the country has resulted in the disruption of more than one organization. What the chambers of commerce did not do through their publicity and the activity of their industrial spies, the State and Federal governments have done through the use of the constabulary and the injunction. The workers still cling to their craft organizations, and hope that things will pick up after the wage cuts are all made. The world of labor is organized less than 20 per cent; the world of business is organized about 90 per cent, and the members of the rival organizations think and act accordingly.

"A Rubber Tree in the Dakotas"

RADICALISM is about as much at home in the Middle West as a rubber tree is at home on the Dakota prairies—not because of the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. It simply isn't there.

Of course, there are exceptions in this general rule, but the attitude of the people is summed up in the one word, "acquiescence."

I picked the word up in Texas, on the last train that ran over the International and Great Western before the strike of the trainmen took place. The situation was rather tense, and I was trying to get a correct view of the motives that lay back of the strike, so I spent a great deal of time talking to the railroad men that I met. All were guarded. In fact, no one in Texas discusses public questions above a stage whisper. Finally, I found the brakeman of our train sitting in the smoking car, so I sat down beside him and asked him why the trainmen were going out before the rest of the crafts.



I. P. E. U. 624

Capital 90%, Labor 20% Organized

The trainman turned to me and said: "Friend, there is a law on the books of Texas called the Open Port Law. It was passed during the big dock strike last year. Under that law, if we talk over the strike in a public place, we are both liable to be sent to jail for conspiracy."

The man was about thirty. His face was keen, and he spoke with a precision that showed a grasp of the thing that he was talking about, so I decided to go on with the conversation.

"I am a newspaper man," I told him. "So I want to get a straight story on the strike." I showed him my press card.

"T. N. T."

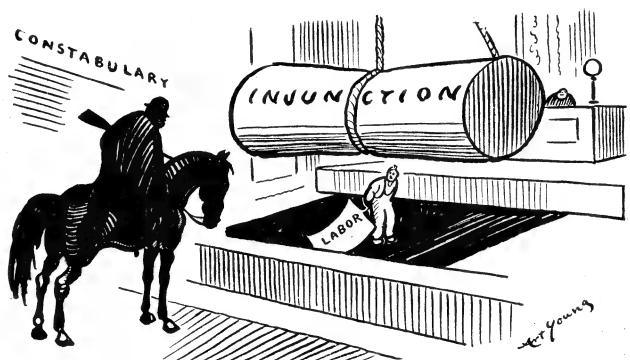
HE read the card carefully, and examined it to see whether it were authentic. Then he asked: "Do you write for the New York Call?" I told him that I did. "That is where I have seen your name," he said. "Well, I am glad to meet you," and we shook hands. A revolutionist, carrying T. N. T. could scarcely have proceeded more cautiously in an identification than did these two Americans before they could talk about the one subject that was the common topic of conversation in that community.

Having satisfied himself that I was neither a government agent nor a company spy, the trainman talked freely about the causes of the strike, which he understood very well. He was a little ill at ease while we were talking. Although we were sitting at one end of an almost empty car, he kept turning to see that no one was coming up from behind. After giving an excellent picture of the strike situation, and scoring the railroad men for their failure to develop a feeling of solidarity higher than their feelings of craft, he described his personal life. He had been a Socialist for many years, and had taken an active part in an effort to start a radical paper in San Antonio. Then the war struck the country, playing havoc with his plans. At about the same time his wife was taken sick, and she had since remained in delicate health.

"I Acquiesce"

I HAVE learned that acquiescence is a great word," he said. "I acquiesce. Of course I don't believe in what is going on, but what can one man or a handful do against the whole town, backed by the power of the state and the business interests? If you have ideas, and express them, you're just bound to get into trouble, and in my present position, with a sick wife on my hands, I can't afford trouble, so I acquiesce."

This does not mean that people are not thinking radically. The country is full of men and women who see what is going on, and who are bitterly against it, but



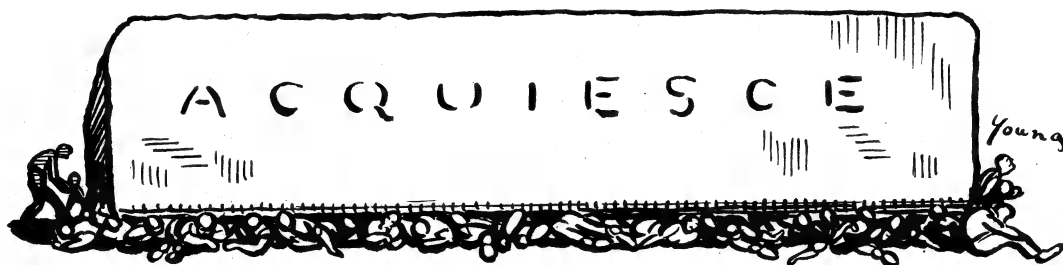
Trapped

when it comes to joining a radical organization, subscribing to a radical paper, or even going to a radical meeting, they think twice, and then usually acquiesce.

The sanest spirit that I found was that of the men with whom I spoke in Leavenworth. They have not abated their zeal; their visions are as keen as ever, but they realize that the tactics of 1912 will not win points in 1921. They face five, ten, twenty years in the penitentiary, but they are bright, hopeful, and in dead earnest.

The radicalism in the Middle West is under men's hats. How much is there of it? No one can say. When chance gives an opening, one finds it on all sides, but to date it remains acquiescent. Meanwhile, the business interests and their representatives are doing everything in their power to throttle it.

Radicalism does not find a congenial atmosphere in the valley of the Mississippi. Labor is being broken by the ferocious attacks of the business interests. There is a tacit understanding, almost everywhere, that the Chambers of Commerce and the Boards of Trade are, for the time being at least, the guardians of private as well as of public morality. These facts stand out against the background of hard times that one meets on the farm as well as in the town.



The Workers' Party Is Launched

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

TO wage the open struggle for communism in the United States—such is the object of the Workers' Party of America, organized at its First National Convention in New York City, December 23-26, 1921.

Two years ago, lacking a week, that struggle had been driven underground by the "Palmer Anti-Red Raids" of January 1-2, 1920. The young communist movement, organized but divided into the Communist and Communist Labor Parties, at Chicago, September, 1919, was allowed to function openly for less than four months, when the forces of capitalism, the legal machinery of federal, state and local government, were brought into play in the effort to club it out of existence.

The December convention, attended by nearly 200 delegates, confident of their power to achieve, was primarily a unity convention. For the convention gathered together numerous forces that had been expelled from or that had left the Socialist Party during the past two years. It is estimated that the party started with 25,000 members. Some delegates claimed they had been hoping for this convention from the hour that the Socialist forces broke in Chicago in 1919. Among others, individuals and organizations, the hoped-for-unity has been gradually developing and growing stronger during those two years.

The Party's Aims

The call for the convention, signed by the American Labor Alliance and its affiliated organizations, by the Workers' Council of the United States, the Jewish Socialist Federation and the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein (Workers' Educational Society), urged the building of "an organization that will not only valiantly defend the workers, but will also wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism." It demanded the ushering in of the American Workers' Republic, declared for all forms of political action, including electoral campaigns, and urged the education of the workers to militant unionism, the creation of a centralized party and a party-owned press.

The program adopted by the convention outlines special activities for this year's congressional campaign which, it declares, will be waged upon the most pressing and vital needs of the workers. During the revolutionary ferment the world over, two years ago, the left wing of the American

Socialist Party forsook the immediate political struggle for its broader aspects, developing a struggle for the maximum program,—the overthrow of capitalism. Now that the imminence of the world social revolution is clearly still remote, these shattered elements re-unite for the immediate struggle in harmony with the position adopted by the Third (Communist) International and the Communist Parties of other countries.

Capturing the Unions

The Workers' Party convention developed a program for activity among the labor unions that marks the first real effort to win the economic organizations of labor for the revolutionary struggle. Two years ago the drift was all towards the Industrial Workers of the World and for the smashing of the American Federation of Labor. Two years of experience, in this and other countries, culminating in the first congress of the Red Trade Union International, at Moscow, last summer, proved the futility of such an attack upon the established labor movement.

Where the Socialist Party entered the labor unions for the collection of campaign funds and the endorsement of its candidates and campaign activities, the Workers' Party will participate in the every-day struggle of labor, through the organization and direction of its members within the trade unions, for the purpose of revolutionizing the four and five millions of organized workers. It takes a stand against all forms of dual unionism, urges the change to the industrial union form and warns the revolutionists, as groups or individuals, against expulsion. The program declares:

"Within all trade and industrial unions the workers' party will organize and promote revolutionary groups, and will help to crystallize around such groups large blocs of sympathetic workers, growing in understanding. The party will supply these groups with literature, information, instruction as to methods, and so endeavor to co-ordinate the entire left wing of the American labor movement within the existing unions."

Thus is launched the first serious effort to link up the entire left wing of the American trade union movement, which has heretofore manifested itself through an occasional individual raising the standards of revolt in the American Federation of Labor, or through small groups functioning in some of the international unions.

Have We Disarmed?

The "Arms Conference" Has Not Found the Way

By GILSON GARDNER

THE disarmament conference has failed. It has failed chiefly in the fact that it has not been a disarmament conference. It has been what it is so often called—an "Arms Conference."

The conference has not reduced to any appreciable extent the armaments of the powers participating. It has not taken any effective steps to abolish such barbarities of war as the use of poison gas, submarines, the arming of merchant ships, or the employment of aeroplanes against civilian populations.

5-5-3 "in Spirit"

To some people these statements may appear exaggerated. But "some people" are still suffering from the mental effect of the halleluliah chorus which went up after the opening session of the conference. The blare of brass with which Mr. Hughes disarmed the world was most satisfactory. Navies were scrapped; dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts were mere piles of junk. You could see the bows disappearing as they were sunk to their last rest in the deep waters of their native oceans. Mr. Hughes was buried under an avalanche of laurels and the good ladies peace societies wanted to camp on the front steps of the Pan-American Union so that they might be there to spread daisies and violets in the pathway of the dear delegates to the lovely disarmament affair.

It was a wonderful gesture. It was a grand smoke screen and under the cover of it anything could happen. The fact that it was accepted "in spirit" rather than in fact did not disturb the halleluliah folks. The British accepted it "in spirit." The Japanese accepted it "in spirit," with a mental reservation as to the Mutsu, their favorite and latest battleship. And later on it appeared that Balfour had accepted it "in spirit," with a parenthetical reservation in regard to two modern up-to-date hoods of 34,000 tons each. And now the United States has accepted it "in spirit" except for the fact that our navy is to have some new cruisers such as it never has had before—a lot of auxiliary anti-submarine craft—some aeroplane

tenders and a few super-dreadnoughts which have never been on the waves and which it seemed a pity really to scrap.

The Treasure Chest

Two centuries ago we would have seen Black Bartelmy, Tressady of the Hook, Belvidere and Captain Kidd gathered around the treasure chest on a desert island trying to compose a working agreement whereby they might keep the loot. Item one in such agreement would be to oppose any outsider who attempted to take it from them. Item two would be knives, pistols and cutlasses as instruments for discussing any differences which might arise among themselves. In the modern world our diplomacy has reached the same stage that personal violence had reached in the time of Black Bartelmy. Diplomatically, Japan, England, France and America are seated about the treasure chest, which is China and the Islands of the Pacific, and are composing a working agreement as to what shall happen to those possessions.

We call it a Four-Power Pact. It was some bright person who, after Mr. Harding had "interpreted" it, called it a *faux pas* pact. Which reminds us of Frank Simonds' description of the disarmament conference—"secret disagreements openly arrived at."

We are told that this Four-Power Pact is to insure peace in the Orient for the next 10 years. It would be the same kind of peace that was maintained by Tressaday and Black Bartelmy. But there are dear good ladies and dear good men already committing themselves and their organized peace societies to the support of this kind of a producer of peace. Mr. Libby, of the National Council for Limitation of Armaments, issues a bulletin to his clients in which he says the council favors this pact "first, because it is a step in the right direction; second, because it takes the place of the 'Two-power pact' between England and Japan; third, because conferences as a means to arrange differences are unquestionably in full harmony with the tendency of the times; fourth, because in

LABOR AGE

case of aggression from without, the pact arranges for 'measures to be taken' so that the peoples of the world will have opportunity to express themselves on the issues" . . . etc.

The Loot of China

The loot of China is the great motive running through the intrigue relative to the Far East. Our friends from Chita, representing the Siberian Far Eastern Republic, have done the world a service in exposing the secret agreements and exchanges between France and Japan "to hold the United States in check in the Far East." Japan looks naturally to France for a little moral support in its loot program. Japan's ally, Great Britain, the great pioneer of loot, could not be expected to look with favor upon the little peculations of the Japanese. Suppose Japan wants Port Arthur or Vladivostock or a few hundred thousand miles of Eastern Siberia. And suppose the plans of Japan are unpleasant to the greed of the British or Americans; and suppose the respective parties begin treading on each other's toes to determine who will stay and who will go in these ports. How long would the "discussion" and the pleasant "conference" continue and how amiable would it be, and how likely to avert the use of force in deciding the issue? The only question is, do we want to send boys from Illinois, Iowa and California to fight over that loot? Isn't there enough loot at home?

China has been the prey of modern governmental pirates for the last century. The Chinese have submitted to the depredations of foreigners with singular patience. General Tsai Soo described it quaintly when he asked the Women's City Club how they would feel if the Turks landed on Plymouth Rock and insisted on remaining in order that they might force the rest of the country to buy opium from them. It is a quaint idea. That is what the British have done to China. And beneficently these pioneers of civilization have insisted that the Chinese tariff is their affair not China's, and that a flat 5 per cent duty is all that the Chinese shall be permitted to impose against themselves and the outside world generally. Which is one reason why the Chinese Republic finds difficulty in raising revenues.

The "Open Door"

"Consortium" is a word employed to describe the looting of China by the large banking interests. The Chinese are not permitted to finance

their own railroads. "Consortium" arrangements permit the world's bankers to go in and charge the Chinese seven prices to build and operate a road and then the country is mortgaged to the bankers and political control is turned over to insure the collection of interest. Our interest in this operation is called the "Open door." It is to protect and maintain this divine institution that the conference is creating Four-Power Pacts and similar devices and God knows what else behind the closed and locked doors of the Pan-American Union.

Is it any wonder that "Mr. Zero," alias Urbain Ledoux, applied to the Third precinct police station in Washington, D. C., for warrants for the arrest of the arms' conference delegates on the charge that they are trafficking in stolen goods? Of course they are trafficking in stolen goods, but what an embarrassing situation to present to a police magistrate!

But returning to the scrapping situation of the navies—has anybody proposed to scrap anything that would be efficient in the making of war? Not on your best girl's picture! It was proposed to scrap the obsolete and expensive sea-going big craft which were shown to be quite useless by the recent war. The conference members were willing to pledge themselves solemnly against the use of flintlocks and to the use of machine guns.

The next war, it is said, will be against civilian populations. Might not this fact interest a disarmament or peace conference? Has anybody heard of any four-power pact against dropping dynamite on unarmed civilian populations? Has anybody seen the text of a real agreement to abstain from the use of poison gas? Does anybody think that Mr. Root's Marquis of Queensbury's rules to govern the use of submarines will last any longer than the traditional "scrap of paper?" Does the disarmament conference not know that failure to provide against arming merchant ships is equivalent to permitting war on civilian travelers, and a return to the time when letters of marque and reprisal were issued and private piracy was practised?

Finally, why should anyone have expected any step in the direction of peace and disarmament from a conference made up of these delegates? There was not a genuine advocate of disarmament or a genuine opponent of war on any delegation representing any nation. Certainly not on the American delegation. Senator Borah, who was the author of the original proposal to cut naval

PUZZLE PICTURE
Find the Labor Delegates



I. P. E. U. 624

The Disarmament Conference, Drawn by Cesare in New York Times

armaments is no pacifist, but even Borah was not permitted to sit on a conference of which he was the originator.

Who's Who at the Conference

Our Ambassador Harvey discussed the matter with Lloyd George and hazarded the opinion that Borah would be named as one member (the story is true, it was brought by Knox and told just before he died). Lloyd George said, "No, not Borah, he is a fanatic." Harvey then suggested Knox. "Bull-headed, almost as bad as Borah," said Lloyd George—"Why not someone like Root?" And it was someone like Root; and someone like Underwood; and someone like Lodge; and someone like all the other professional diplomats.

The world is tired of war, diplomatic intrigue, taxes, hard times, starvation, the struggles of subject peoples to free themselves. Hope reaches out and grasps at straws, even such a straw as this disarmament conference. A number of peace advocates are unwilling to face the black facts in regard to this mocking of their earnest desires that wars should cease, so they go on iterating the little phrases that it is "a step in the right direction." That "one conference may lead to another" and that "treaties which provide for conferences are so much better than force and arms." So it must be after all in some way a success.

It is a pity, but people with minds clear enough and courage robust enough to acknowledge facts, must see that the conference has been a mockery and a failure.

Social Psychology

By PRINCE HOPKINS

IN THIS article we shall consider some implications of the aim of making the world the happiest possible place for the greatest number, and then analyze the material with which such a world will have to be made.

Happiness may be defined as the feeling we have that we (including any friend or cause with which we identify ourselves) have more than enough energy to handle any situation that confronts us. That we may be happy in spite of experiencing keen want or pain (within certain limits) is shown, for instance, by the pleasure it is to be hungry when we know that a good dinner is not far away, or to receive a blow that gives us a long-awaited excuse to crush the enemy who struck it, or to ponder over our own or the world's woes, if we believe we have the best possible solution for them.

The implications, then, of our aim of promoting the greatest happiness to the greatest number present these alternatives: Either the world must be freed from problems too difficult for people as at present constituted to meet successfully, or else people must be made more capable of handling them.

Effect of Science

The progress of science will undoubtedly make it possible to overcome some of our present day evils. But the equable distribution of these benefits of science among the many predicates an industrial revolution in society. A world mechanically productive of so much wealth that certain groups can have everything they want, is the ideal of the present generation. Unfortunately, men's wants are not stationary; the satisfaction of one want opens up new desires, and capitalist society is becoming a mad scramble of each to have more than his neighbor. This condition is teaching mankind the lesson that "man does not live by bread alone." Attention is thus being directed from the attempt to provide an easy physical berth for the race—especially for a select few of the race—toward a hope of making the mass of mankind more intelligent and capable, more able to control their industrial machines and themselves.

"Can't Change Human Nature"

But this attempt is far from easy. "You can't change human nature"—unless you change the institutions in which it is molded. That it is changed, and profoundly, under the influence of differing institutions is shown by the great difference in thought as expressed in the writings of the men who lived in savage, barbarian, classic, feudal and modern times. Their whole outlook on life is in each case incomprehensible to those who lived in a later age. Whenever we send a child to school, we tacitly admit that we believe that human nature can be modified. When, however, we deliberately attempt to change mankind en masse, we must make sure that we understand of what sort of psychological stuff men are made.

The Nature of Living Beings

Let us turn from further examination of the physical material available to make a new world to the nature of feeling and thinking creatures. We find that all are organized out of a substance called protoplasm which is characterized by its relatively great tendency to put forth movements of its own and to modify the nature of these movements because of consequent experience. These qualities of protoplasm become accentuated in the more highly evolved kinds of animals. The latter may react in one way so long as the result is pleasurable to them; but if the result is displeasurable, they often turn and react oppositely. In short, successful acts are repeated, while unsuccessful ones are repressed. A child meeting and overcoming moderate obstacles develops into a man of "strong will," endowed with an optimism that moves others. Another child who is balked at every turn is likely to develop into a pessimist and a foredoomed failure. A whole nation, victorious in war, expands into a policy of mad imperialism; or crushed utterly, it loses its grip and degenerates. A social class gains psychological power in the confidence born of an advancing economic condition, but too many defeats sap its morale and lead to an utter rout.

Results of Freedom

Whole ages of our race's development are characterized by the predominance of one or other of these types of character. The pictures left in their prehistoric caves by the men of the

neolithic period indicate a freedom of stroke which excites our admiration today; the paintings by the men of the later paleolithic culture are cramped in comparison. Similarly the days of ancient Greece and Rome were days of freedom, amounting to license, which we correctly associate with the name pagan. Christianity, as a movement born on the crest of men's reaction to this lack of restraint, has for two thousand years swamped western culture with a puritanical strain of however fluctuating intensity.

Now, Christianity is losing its grip and an era of greater freedom is again developing. The economic interpretation of history is supplemented thus by its psychological interpretation of why men will no longer submit with patience to the chains their fathers bore. In the political, as earlier in the religious field, autocratic authority, absolutism, has had to give way to democracy and freedom, and today the victorious war is being carried into the field of industry.

Adaptation to Environment

What specific impulses develop out of this tendency of protoplasm to be active and to react with some adaptation to every stimulus? By experiments of a most interesting nature, Loeb, the noted American biologist, has shown that the conduct of low forms of animal life as well as of plant life is strikingly like that of the sunflower, which always turns its head toward the source of light. He shows how nervous connections from the eyes of certain water animals to swimming muscles on the opposite sides of their bodies cause these animals to swing themselves until both eyes face equally into the light. Two other low lifes, *Bacterium termo* and *Spirillum undula*, face about in a mechanical fashion toward the source from which an infusion of 0.001 per cent of peptone or of meat extract comes to them. *Nereis*, a marine worm, is stimulated by the contact of glass against its skin to enter tiny glass tubes, even if against strong sunlight which kills it.

Now, asks Loeb, in effect, have we not in the turning of *Bacterium termo* toward a chemical infusion the beginning of the impulse which draws the small boy toward home when he smells dinner cooking? And have we not in *Nereis* the explanation of the boy's love of crawling into the cave he has dug for himself? It is interesting to note that the same stimulus may, under slightly different circumstances,

cause quite different reactions. Thus, by seeing a small animal of its own kind, an animal may be moved by the protective impulse, whereas, if the stranger had been slightly larger, the combative impulse would have been aroused, and if larger still, then the impulse of flight. Similarly, an employer of labor may feel benevolence toward a small company union, but when it joins the trade union movement, he fights it, and this, quite aside from its having actually demonstrated hostile intent toward him.

Of the four great drives of human beings, two corresponding to hunger and love obviously are derived from Loeb's tropisms; the other two, fighting and flight, are defensive mechanisms aroused chiefly when the first two are threatened. Then, there are the inhibitive impulses corresponding to each of these.

The Human Impulses

Some psychologists stop here, fearing to enumerate the human impulses more minutely until science has made more certain of them. But most authorities give at least a tentative listing of special instincts.* You will find long lists of them given by James, Thorndike and others. Carleton Parker, the economist and student of labor, says (Casual Laborer, p. 125):

"These instinctive tendencies are persistent—are far less warped and modified by the environment than we believe; . . . they function quite as they have for a thousand years; . . . they as motives in their various normal or perverted habit form can at times dominate singly the entire behavior and act as if they were a clean character dominant."

Parker gives the "following catalog of instincts:" 1, Gregariousness; 2, parental bent, motherly behavior, kindness; 3, curiosity, manipulation, workmanship; 4, acquisition, collecting, ownership; 5, fear and flight; 6, mental activity; 7, housing or settling; 8, migration, homing; 9, hunting; 10, anger, pugnacity; 11, revolt at confinement, at being limited in liberty of action and choice; 12, revulsion; 13, leadership and mastery; 14, subordination, submission; 15, display, vanity, ostentation; 16, sex.

It is possible, while taking a position more conservative than that of those who list in detail the instincts, yet to follow their indications of direction in impulsive tendency.

*The definition of an instinct is that it is a tendency born in us and inherited from thousands of ancestors, without any need of training at all, to act in very definite ways when certain situations occur.

LABOR AGE

These motives, of course, are shared in common by Man and the lower animals. In the lives of at least the undomesticated animals they are fairly adequate to assure their happiness, because they have been evolved through hundreds of generations, during which those animals have lived in essentially the same kind of environment as that which they still inhabit today. Man, however, lives in an artificial world, which he alters continually, and faster than new instincts can possibly be evolved in himself.

Conflict of Impulses

When one of the lower animals is hungry, it is proper for it to seize food and eat; when sexually attracted, to mate; when afraid, to run away; or when enraged, to kill. But a man's hunger may find itself in conflict with his habit of respecting the property of others, or his desire not to appear greedy; his love may go counter to his social or economic ambition; his fear may threaten to lose him the respect of his fellows; and to kill his enemy may cost him his own life. As a result, there is a tremendous conflict going on within the breast of every civilized man or woman, all the time, between the instincts which our complex civilization constantly stimulates.

"Sublimation"

The inner conflicts which are bred by even quite necessary social restrictions would blow society to atoms, but for adaptive mechanism which mankind has evolved. This consists in "sublimation" (literally, vaporizing) our impulses into expressions which symbolize, or stand for, the original instincts, without really being them. Thus, under some conditions, "hunger" for books may take the energy that

naturally would flow into physical hunger; or a widow may sublimate her love for her late husband into religious "love." Unfortunately, this process of sublimation isn't so simple that we can easily bring it about whenever we wish. Nevertheless, much may be effected if we make a habit of always "reasoning through" to its final causes each situation which disturbs us. Thus, for example, when we are angry at an individual, we can at least recall to what extent he is the result of the forces of heredity and environment. Not to punish this man, but to free all men, is the remedy.

Revolt Against Present System

The tendency to "sublimate" his passions into higher forms of expression is never quite absent in mankind. That is why every age of license has been followed by one of "spiritual" striving. America, precisely because she is one of the most luxurious and crass of nations, has been the most prolific of new-fangled religious cults, of well-meaning philanthropists and of sentimental literature; and some day she will produce a movement true and fine, surpassing anything the world has known. This will be a revolt against the whole system whereby human values are subordinated to commercial values. It will proclaim, as the first essential of an endurable society, that it should not provoke, by unnecessary repressions, a war of passions in the breasts of its citizens, sure presently to find expression in literal warfare; and that it should cease to put a premium upon the lowest human motives for production of goods, but should so organize its machinery as to stimulate instead the impulses of workmanship, creativeness, self-respect, co-operation and mutual aid.

(This is the second of Mr. Hopkins' articles)



A Final Word On the Building Guilds

By G. D. H. COLE

The conditions of the Guild contract are so important that I set them out in full, with the necessary explanation:

"It is agreed that the following arrangements would be satisfactory to the Guild and to the Ministry:—

1. The Guild will give an estimate of the cost of each type of house, which estimate must be agreed as reasonable between the parties and approved by the Ministry.

2. The Guild will be paid a lump sum of £40 per house in respect of remuneration for disposal by the Guild to provide for continuous pay to those employed on Guild contracts, or for other purposes of the Guild.

3. The Guild will be paid 6 per cent on the cost (subject to par. 5 below) to cover plant and all overhead charges, salaries of buyers, head-office expenses, and salaries of supervising staff not wholly employed on the site of the individual housing schemes.

4. Any surplus under pars. 2 or 3 to be devoted to improvement of the service.

5. The charge of 6 per cent to cover the purposes mentioned in par. 3 will be paid on increased cost due to increases in the rates of wages, but not on increases in the cost of materials.

6. (a) If the estimates net cost is, say £900, and the actual cost proves to be, say, £800, the actual cost will be paid by the local authority, plus 6 per cent for overhead charges (subject to any modification due to par. 5), and £40 as above.

(b) If the actual cost should prove to be, say, £1,000, that cost would be paid, plus 6 per cent on the estimated net cost of £900 only (subject to any modifications due to par. 5), and £40 as above.

7. The Co-operative Wholesale Society may be associated in the contract for the purchase of materials. This position to be clearly defined to the satisfaction of all concerned.

8. The contract to include a "break clause," which shall not take effect for three months from the commencement, allowing the contract to be terminated if the costs exceed the estimate, plus any increases in the rates of wages and standard costs of materials which may have taken place since the making of the estimate.

9. The Co-operative Wholesale Society will, on being satisfied with the contract, insure the local authority against loss under the contract for a payment of 2s. 6d. per £100.

10. A satisfactory costing system shall be arranged."

It will be seen that under this draft form of contract the Guild was to give an estimate of the anticipated cost of construction to the local authority, and that the contract could only be approved if this estimate was regarded as satisfactory. The local authority, however, would not be called upon to pay the amount in the estimate, but the actual cost of construction, whether it worked out at more or less than the estimate. If it worked out at less, the local authority would save on the transaction over and above any difference between the Guild estimate and the rival estimates of the private contractors. If it worked out at more, the

local authority was able either to terminate the contract under the conditions of Clause 8 (which, it may be mentioned, have never been put into force in any instance), or it could insure against loss through the Co-operative Insurance Society. In fact, Guild contracts have hitherto always worked out at considerably less than the estimates which the Guild has submitted; although these estimates have been uniformly lower than those of private contractors.

When I say that the Guilds undertook to build houses absolutely at cost prices, it must be noted that "cost price" in this undertaking bears a slightly different sense from that which is normally attached to it in commercial transactions. This difference rests upon one of the vital and fundamental principles on which the Guild movement is based. One of the first and most emphatic declarations made by the building workers is that labor must be regarded as the first charge upon the product of industry, and that continuous maintenance, at the standard rate of pay, must be assured to every worker engaged upon a Guild job, as indeed, it ought to be assured to every worker in the community. Accordingly, the Building Guilds, and the Guilds which have since been started in other industries, pay all their employees a continuous salary, which is received in time of sickness, or temporary cessation of work (owing e.g., to weather conditions), as well as when actual full-time work is being done. The Guilds desired to include this charge for continuous maintenance in the cost of building, but the Ministry of Health would not agree to this, and finally, by a compromise under Clause 2 of the above agreement, a lump sum payment of £40 per house was agreed upon as a charge covering the estimated cost of continuous pay. This clause, as we shall see, was afterwards a source of great trouble. From the first, strong objection to it was taken by the master builders, who refused to provide continuous pay for their own employees and objected to such payment being made by the Guilds.

Although the Ministry of Health entered into this agreement with the Building Guilds, it was by no means prepared to welcome the prospect of reducing the cost of housing production which the

Guild offers afforded, or to allow any large number of Guild contracts to be concluded, even where the local authorities were anxious to adopt the Guild method. The Minister of Health stated that, in his view, the Guild method in industry must be regarded as purely experimental, and that only twenty contracts could be sanctioned in order to allow the experiment to be tried in practice. In reaching this decision, there is little doubt that the Minister was actuated by the opposition the master builders were offering to any recognition of Guilds by the Government. At first the master Guilds as certain, and therefore been inclined to ignore them; but, as soon as they realized that the Guildsmen meant business, and had the labor of the building workers behind them, they began to do their utmost to obstruct, by political influence, the growth of the movement. As their pressure increased, the Ministry of Health became more and more unwilling to sanction further Guild contracts, even at the present time, the twenty contracts promised in 1920 have not all been granted, while all further expansion of Guild activities on public housing work have been refused. Moreover, early in 1921, the Minister of Health announced that he would be unable, under any conditions, to sanction further Guild contracts on the basis agreed upon between himself and the Guilds only six months or so before. Exception was taken in particular to the clause providing for continuous pay, and to the refusal of the Guilds to quote a fixed price, thus admitting the principle of private profit.

In order to deal with these difficulties, and also on the basis of their actual experience of working on public and private building operations, the Building Guilds decided, at a National Conference held in the summer of 1921, to adopt a new form of contract, not necessarily to the exclusion of the old, but as one more likely to be acceptable to the Ministry, and also to the private customer. This new contract, known as the "Maximum Sum" contract, differs in certain important particulars from the standard contract drafted in agreement with the Ministry of Health in 1920. Instead of giving only an estimate of the cost of construction, the Guild is now prepared to quote a *maximum* price, which it guarantees not to exceed under any conditions. If the actual cost of construction works out at less than this *maximum*, the purchaser, whether it be a local authority or a private

person, still gets the benefit, and is only charged the actual cost in the sense above attached to the term. But, in order to cover the risk involved in quoting a *maximum* price in face of fluctuating costs of production, the Guild now includes in the cost a small percentage charge, varying with the type of work to be executed, and the sums realized in this way are placed in an insurance fund to be used for the making up of any losses which may be sustained as a result of the *maximum* prices. A further new form of contract, known as the "Guild Labor Contract," is one under which the Guild leaves the purchase of materials and plant to the customer, and confines itself to the provision, organization and control of the labor required for the job. This form of contract, however, is only likely to be used in exceptional cases; and it may be assumed that for the future the "maximum sum contract," or some modification of it, will be the normal method of Building Guild enterprise.

One reason for the adoption of this form of contract lies in the almost complete abandonment, in 1921, of the Government housing program. The Government had failed to get built the houses which it had planned to build; and, having attempted to cast the blame for its failure upon the building trades operatives, it suddenly revised its housing policy and drastically restricted the amount of financial assistance which it was prepared to give to the local authorities for the erection of working-class houses. This meant that, if the Guilds were to expand, they must look to the private purchaser fully as much as to the local authorities for future orders. In dealings with the private purchaser, the first question that would be raised by an individual who desired to build himself a house would be: "What is the *maximum* amount that this house will cost me?" Unless the Guilds are prepared to give a fixed estimate of the *maximum* cost, it would be difficult to get the private individual, with his limited means, to enter into arrangements with them. The Guilds, therefore, when they accepted the *maximum* sum policy, were deliberately making preparations for a great expansion of their work in the sphere of building for the private purchaser. This expansion is already to some extent taking place; and a great deal both of constructional and of repair work for private persons is now being carried out.

The Month

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Labor in America

THE month in America brought to the labor movement both victory and defeat. Labor rejoiced at the release of Eugene V. Debs and twenty-three other political prisoners from the Federal penitentiary. It witnessed the injunction, long the enemy of labor, at last used effectively in labor's behalf. It noted the success of the photo-engravers, the house-cleaning of the building trades, the beginnings of important amalgamations of scattered unions.

On the other hand, labor suffered during the month (December 15 to January 15) a severe defeat in the Supreme Court decision in the Truax vs. Corrigan case. It saw the beginning of an ominous movement for the establishment of industrial courts. It was unsuccessful in numerous wage battles, and it continued to suffer from unemployment. Developments in the mining and railroad industries indicated a difficult situation ahead.

Arizona Anti-Injunction Statute Defeated

CLOSELY following the reactionary decision of December 5, in the Steel Foundries case, came the decision of December 19, declaring unconstitutional the Arizona statute which prohibited the use of injunctions against peaceful picketing and advising others not to patronize a business concern. In this case (Truax vs. Corrigan), Truax ran a restaurant in Bisbee, Arizona. Members of the Cooks' and Waiters' Union, whom he employed, struck, picketed the restaurant and distributed handbills calling on the public to cease patronizing the firm. The employer asked for an injunction. The lower court, and later the State Supreme Court, denied relief on the ground that the State statute forbade the use of an injunction against advising the public to cease patronizing a party to an industrial dispute. The case was taken to the United States Supreme Court, on the ground that the statute was unconstitutional. Five of the nine members of the court declared the statute void, Messrs. Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke and Pitney dissenting. Chief Justice Taft, who rendered the decision, took the mediaeval position that the statute deprived a person of his business—which was property—without due process of law, thus contravening the Fourteenth Amendment. "Violence," he declared, "could not have been more effective. It was *moral coercion by illegal annoyance and obstruction* (italics mine), and it was thus plainly a conspiracy." Moral coercion by illegal annoyance! The justice also maintained that the statute denied Truax the equal protection of the law. All agree that the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment was stressed many points, and that the decision, if followed, may have a far-reaching effect in hampering labor legislation.

"There is nothing," declared Justice Holmes, in his dissenting opinion, "that I more deprecate than the use

of the Fourteenth Amendment beyond the absolute compulsion of the words to prevent the making of social experiments that an important part of the community desires, . . . even though the experiments may seem futile or noxious to me and to those whose judgment I most respect."

Garment Workers and Engravers Win

THE successful outcome of the injunction proceedings of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, described elsewhere in this issue, and the total defeat of the efforts of the employers to restore piece-work to the New York garment industry, are among the most heartening events in recent labor history. Of encouragement also is the outcome of the photo-engravers' lockout in New York City. On December 31 the Photo-Engravers' Board of Trade, employing workers in 75 plants, declared a lockout of workers for refusing to accede to an increase of working hours from 44 to 48 and a decrease of the minimum wage from \$50 to \$45 a week. This lockout was said to be a part of the effort of the American Photo-Engravers' Association to break the Union's strength in important centers. On January 12, however, after nearly two weeks of struggle, the employers gave in, and renewed the old contract for a period of 13 months. This victory, according to Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers' Unions, will have a marked effect on the fight now being waged in 23 other cities. The molders also were successful in retaining the minimum wage of \$6 in the agreement signed in late December between the International Molders' Union and the Stove Founders' National Defense Association. Rates on piece-work, however, were reduced from 5 to 10 per cent. The employers had demanded a 20 and 30 per cent reduction. The International Typographical Union is also fighting an heroic battle, and keeping its forces intact.

Trouble Ahead in Mining Industry

A MENACING situation developed during the month in the mining industry. The present wage agreements between the miners and the mine owners expire March 31. Agreements must be made before that date, or else a bitter struggle will follow. During the last twenty years the United Mine Workers have met with the representatives of the operators in the entire central competitive region, which includes Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, and have signed a common wage scale agreement. On December 28, the Southern Ohio Coal Exchange refused to continue this system, and insisted on discussing wage scales separately. The Illinois operators have signified their willingness to confer with the United Mine Workers, but the latter organization insists that all of the bituminous operators agree among themselves before urging the miners to talk wages.

LABOR AGE

The situation, it is feared, will bring about a deadlock.

Indictments charging treason were returned on January 13 against officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America in West Virginia, by the grand jury, in the Circuit Court. The indictments alleged that the defendants, in the fight of last summer, undertook to overthrow Governor Morgan's proclamation of martial law in Mingo County, raised an army to war against the State of West Virginia, and committed acts against the State. Among those indicted were Frank Kenney, President of District 17, and Fred Mooney, Secretary-Treasurer.

While the miners are being attacked from without, division continues within their ranks. Alexander Howat lost a point in January in his fight against the Lewis group, when Judge Dew, of the Jackson County Circuit Court, Missouri, refused to make permanent an injunction which prevented Lewis from interfering with District 14. The judge maintained that Howat had ignored the recommendations of the Lewis Board, which had full authority to order the miners to return to work. He also declared that "no man can defy the Kansas laws and at the same time get relief from the courts of equity of another state."

During December the women supporters of the Howat men made a bitter attack on several groups of Lewis miners who had returned to work. The Governor ordered the militia out to protect the Lewis men and to guard the international officers at the Stillwell Hotel, of Pittsburg, Kansas. This is probably the first time in labor history that state troops were called out to put down a "riot" by women.

The situation in Colorado continued serious. Martial law has been proclaimed in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company district, public meetings have been prohibited and press censorship maintained. The situation parallels that in the Ludlow district in 1914. The strike followed an attempt to impose a drastic wage cut. The State Industrial Commission has ordered that criminal proceedings be brought against the workers, but the district attorneys have thus far refused.

Another "outlaw" strike was reported in December among the miners of the Wyoming District, Pennsylvania. Attorney-General Daugherty has been urged to include in the investigation of the cost of living the mining sections of the country. Here, according to Editor Searles, the miners are compelled to pay far higher prices than do those who have the advantage of competitive dealers.

Untermeyer Revolutionizes Rules in Building Trades

ON January 10 the Building Trades Council of New York City finally ratified, with certain modifications, the drastic changes in its general procedure urged by Samuel Untermeyer and the Lockwood Investigating Committee. Through their action, the Council approved the limitation of initiation fee to \$75. It promised to put an end to agreements between certain unions and employers to discriminate against independent contractors. It repealed the rules limiting the number of apprentices. It barred from office all business agents convicted of extortion, thus making it impossible for Robert P. Brindell to get control of the Union again



Underwood and Underwood

I. P. E. U. 620

MINER'S WIFE AND DAUGHTERS

Who Pleaded With President Harding to Relieve Suffering in West Virginia Union Territory

after the expiration of his term of office. It made plain, however, that this exclusion did not apply to those convicted of acts done by a business agent "by authority of the Union." It also agreed to discontinue the system of permitting non-union men to work, on payment of a specified fee.

The building trades were informed that, in return for ratification, the Lockwood Committee would not press measures for the incorporation of unions and for the establishment of industrial courts.

The council, during January, approved of the Untermeyer plan for the extension of the present wage agreement in the building trades for two years, with the establishment of arbitration boards in the various trades. While considering this proposal, the employers extended the present wage agreement until January 31.

"Bad as I find these conditions in the labor unions," wrote Samuel Untermeyer on December 21 to Building Trades Employers' Association, after his indictment of trade union practices, "they are not quite so bad or so injurious to the public welfare as are the conditions which still exist in your association, to the correction of which the committee proposes vigorously to address itself. Your organization continues to be the breeding nest for unlawful combinations."

On January 9, a strike of 60,000 building trades employees in Chicago was reported. The strike was in support of the carpenters, plumbers and other trades. The "Citizens' Committee," backing the contractors, are agitating for a reduction of wages from \$1.25 to \$1 an hour, and are making a drive for the "open shop."

Amalgamations

THE "open shop" drive is making for closer unity among the workers in a number of industries. In early December eight textile unions federated in the Federated Textile Unions of America at a conference in New York. This move may be preliminary to final amalgamation. The marine workers in New York harbor, on January 11, formed an Association of Marine Workers, which will enroll in the same general organization engineers, boatmen, masters, mates, pilots, cooks, firemen and other marine employees. The United Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots has taken the initiative in the formation of the larger organization. This organization is now on strike in protest against a proposed increase in hours and a decrease in wages. Its type of picketing is unique. The strikers travel about the harbor in small boats, and call to the crews of tugboats with megaphones, urging them to join the strikers.

On January 10, the representatives of the United, the Protective and the Allied Shoe Workers met in Rochester and made tentative plans for the amalgamation of the three organizations, with a membership of about 75,000. If these plans are approved by the members of the organizations a convention will be held in Boston on May 17 to elect officers and select a name. The United Shoe Workers, claiming a membership of 30,000, operates chiefly in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Lynn, Salem, Brooklyn and Rochester. The Protective controls Haverhill, and the Allied operates chiefly in Lynn.

An attempt to bring together a number of independent organizations outside of the American Federation of Labor and some of the groups within that organization, with the final objective of reorganizing the labor movement along industrial lines and committing it to the program of the Red Trade Union International, was begun on January 7, with the formation of the United Labor Council of America. The program of the Council declared that the trade union bureaucracy had forced militant workers out of their organizations, thus leading to the development of numerous independent bodies.

The platform denounced dualism and sectarianism in the movement, approved the principle of industrial unionism, and applied for affiliation with the Red Trade Union International. The Amalgamated Metal Workers and the Amalgamated Food Workers were represented by the largest number of delegates. Delegates were also present, officially and unofficially, from the Glove, Tobacco, Marine, Electrical, Feather Boa and Metal Machine Workers' Unions, from the Blacksmiths, Carpenters, and other groups. The control of the Council will be concentrated in a small committee. The convention will be the supreme legislative body.

OTHER EVENTS

WAGE SETTLEMENTS

During the month, several unions were forced to grant concessions to the employers. The eastern section of the meat strike was called off on January 15. The American Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in Chicago, St. Paul and other centers, however, remained on strike. The packers refused the offer of Secretary of Labor Davis to mediate the strike, or to deal with the union.

The wages of 10,000 unskilled workers in the paper industry were cut 20% by the board of arbitrators on January 4, thus making their basic wage 32 cents instead of 40 cents an hour. The millinery workers, employed by the Ladies' Hat Manufacturers' Association, received a 10% to 15% reduction in late December in

the arbitration decision of Dr. Judah L. Magnes. An award of Dr. William Leiserson in the case of 2,800 press assistants led to a decrease from \$37.50 to \$36.50, a decrease equal to the decreased cost of living since the last agreement. The Furrier's Union is now engaged in a contest with their employers for the maintenance of conditions prevailing last year. If the present contract is not renewed, a bitter struggle may result in the industry. Average weekly wages in New York State were 15% lower in November, 1921, than in 1920, according to Commissioner Sayer.

COST OF LIVING

The cost of living in the United States, declares the Bureau of Labor Statistics, was from 18% to 24% less in the last of 1921 than in June, 1920. The costs, however, were 78.1% higher in New York State in December, 1921, than in 1914; 82.4% greater in Detroit, 74.3% greater in Philadelphia, and 72.3% greater in Chicago.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

During the month an attempt was made, through the Congressional Appropriation Bill, to reduce the salaries of federal employees by about \$20 a month. Meyer London is making an energetic fight in Congress against such reduction. London was successful in securing the passage of the first law initiated by a Socialist Congressman—a bill to protect salaries of workers in bankruptcy proceedings. Following such proceedings the employers, under this law, will still be held responsible for the wages due workers and salesmen.

MILK STRIKE

The milk strike dragged on during the month and charges and counter charges of betrayal were made by different groups in the union. William Karlin, counsel for the union, issued an appeal for the municipalization of the milk supply, on account of the unsanitary conditions prevailing in the industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The U. S. Unemployment Service declared that there was an increase in employment during December in the basic industries, but a decrease in the agricultural sections. The miners in the Pittsburgh region were among the worst sufferers. Strong pleas were made at the Pittsburgh meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation for unemployment insurance, in which the employers would assume full responsibility. Professor Commons maintained that the European systems failed in that they imposed the burden on the state and the workers, instead of on the employers. Both President Gompers and the Chamber of Commerce approved, in the Senate hearings of late December, the Kenyon measure for the development of public works during periods of depression. Roads, trails, telephone lines and fire towers and other improvements in the National forests should be built during such a period, Gompers declared. The National Child Labor Association is urging the abolition of child labor for the purpose of giving more work to adults.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

On December 24, Judge Thayer in the Superior Court of Massachusetts, refused to grant new trials to Sacco and Vanzetti. A bill of exceptions is being filed in a higher court. Secretary of Labor Davis urged, in his recommendations to Congress, a bill for the annual registration of all aliens before a bureau of citizenship. Its purpose is "to direct their education along lines which make for Americanization." While declaring that the law would not create an espionage system, he asserts that it will "bring automatically into notice the alien who declares himself and is known to be an anarchist, whose intentions are hostile or resistive, or who is for any other reason undesirable."

The month records (January 12) the overruling by the Circuit Court of Federal Judge Anderson's decision that freedom be given to Mr. and Mrs. William T. Colyer of Wellesley, Mass., sentenced for their communist beliefs. Harold Mulks, attorney for the I. W. W. prisoners at Parrish Farms, near Shreveport, La., was kidnapped on January 13 by masked men and driven out of town in an automobile. A similar treatment was accorded to Attorney Carney the week before.

WASTE

Increasing attention is being given to the wastes of the present economic order. On account of health conditions in industry, the Commission on the Elimination of Waste in Industry of the American Engineering Council, appointed by Herbert Hoover, recently stated that a total loss among 42,000,000 workers of 428,000 lives occurred in 1920 and a probable loss in 1921 of half a million. C. E. Knoepfle, an engineer, asserted in early December before the Taylor Society, that 811,000,000 years of life were lost during the preceding 12 months by the workers of America in industrial accidents.

WAIST MAKERS' DRIVE

The Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers' Unions, representing six locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, opened a drive late last month on the 800 remaining "open" or parasitic shops in the industry. At the same time negotiations are pending between the unions and the manufacturers' association in the industry in regard to a proposed wage reduction of from 15 to 25 per cent in the union shops, and proposed changes in working conditions. The International Union is now free to devote its attention to the dress and waist industry, as a result of its victory in the cloak industry.

Labor Abroad

VARIOUS cross currents, some progressive, others reactionary, appeared during December and January in the European labor movement. The workers in Hungary and Prussia scored slight victories in their fight for freedom of action. On the other hand, the exception laws of Poland, Switzerland and Roumania placed labor in a precarious situation. Indications of growing unity of action were seen in the resolutions of the Bureau of the Vienna International and of the German Communists. In France, however, the trade union movement was split further apart than ever. Of outstanding importance were the actions of the ninth annual convention of the All-Russian Soviet in ratifying Lenin's economic policy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International in favoring a general strike in case of threatened war.

Three Internationals

THE executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Vienna International and the Second International held conferences during the latter part of 1921 to discuss the international situation. Of importance was the action of the Amsterdam Trade Union International in appointing a provisional committee for the purpose of taking all steps necessary "to combat militarism, counteract the danger of the next war, and carry out a general strike immediately on threat of war." The committee appointed for this purpose consisted of members of the Bureau, and, in addition, Robert Williams of the International Transport Workers, Frank Hodges of the International Miners' Federation, and C. Illg of the International Metal Federation. This committee will make an exhaustive report on this question at the April convention of the International in Rome. The appeal issued by the Bureau urges the mothers and wives of the workers to stand shoulder to shoulder with labor "to combat militarism and make another war impossible." The Amsterdam Federation represents nearly all important trade union groups outside of Russia.

The Bureau of the Vienna International, which met in Frankfurt on December 16-17, approved the suggestion of the French Socialist party that a conference be held, preferably in Paris, to discuss the economic situation of Europe, particularly in reference to the reparations problem. The members of the Bureau—Longuet of France, Adler of Austria, Grimm of Switzerland, Ledebour of Germany, and Wallhead of England,—authorized the I. L. P. of England and the French Socialist party to confer with the British Labor party regarding such a meeting, which would include Socialists of various schools of thought. In late November, the Bureau of the Second International, meeting in Brussels, also urged an international conference of labor and Socialist groups to consider the financial situation which was causing widespread unemployment and was "threatening the nations with complete economic breakdown and with grave international conflicts." It also demanded "complete disarmament at sea, on land and in the air." It declared that little was to be expected from the Washington conference. However, it urged the League of Nations to call a conference on the financial situation.

Russia

NICHOLAI LENIN was again reappointed President of the Council of People's Commissars at the close of the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress on December 28, and M. Kalenin was re-elected President of the Executive Committee. The congress ratified the new economic policy—despite the criticisms of some of the leaders of the Third International—curtailing the powers of the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee and agreed with the recommendation of Trotzky that the Russian army be retained at its present strength of 1,375,000 men. Lenin, in his opening speech, reproved the trade unionists who wished to run factories by resolutions. "You labor federations," he declared, "you wish to run factories your way and keep the control of great industry in your hands. Learning to trade is difficult. It is not like oratory, but we have to learn it." During the year the Communist party purged its ranks of some 180,000 "undesirables," out of a total of 650,000.

France

THE rupture of the French trade union movement is now complete," declares London *Daily Herald*, reporting the final session of the Left Wing Congress of the trade unions, which ended in Paris on December 24. On December 2 a group of district councils and unions of the Revolutionary Syndicalists issued an appeal for a special trade union congress to be held in late December, which the management committee of the French Confederation declared to be a violation of the rules of the organization, and tantamount to a breach.

With the alleged purpose of preventing a split in the movement, Losovsky, secretary of the Red Trade Union International, proposed to Oudegeest, secretary of the Amsterdam Federation, that a conference be called in early January, at which would be represented both Internationals and both wings of the French C. G. T. The Moscow organization would send Tom Mann, Rosmer and Losovsky. Oudegeest replied that the events in France were the result of the activities of the Red International, and invited Losovsky to postpone the Left Wing conference, arranged for the 22nd. "On these conditions," he declared, "I shall propose at a meeting of our Bureau on December 20, that a conference be held early in January exclusively between our delegates and yours."

The conference was not, however, postponed. The delegates dethroned the officers of the Confederation, including Secretary Jouhaux, and empowered the new officials to call another National Congress in January. According to the Right Wing executive, this group has, by its action, placed itself outside of the Confederation. The delegates, however, carefully abstained from announcing the formation of a rival C. G. T. and the issue with the general public is confused.

Immediately following the adjournment of this convention, the French Communist party opened its first

annual congress at Marseilles. Some 350 delegates were present, representing a membership of 130,000. Two prisoners, Marty and Badina, were elected honorary presidents. During the sessions there was much bitterness between the supporters of Frossard, the party's secretary, and Souvarine, the party's representative at Moscow, through whose efforts, it was alleged, the Third International had sent numerous dictatorial directions to the executive. Frossard referred bitterly to the "poisonous atmosphere in which the French Communists had lived during the past few weeks."

The most spectacular event of the convention was the appearance of the Italian Bordiga as the representative of the Third International. Bordiga evaded the police, as did Clara Zetkin last year, and spoke for two hours behind closed doors. He maintained that Moscow did not desire insubordination of the trade unions to the party, but the permeation of the unions by the communist spirit.

Germany

THE trade unionists of Germany in their manifesto of early January, severely criticised the government for its failure to levy a tax on property, and combined with the Socialists in forming a commission to examine the taxation of property values and to push their propaganda.

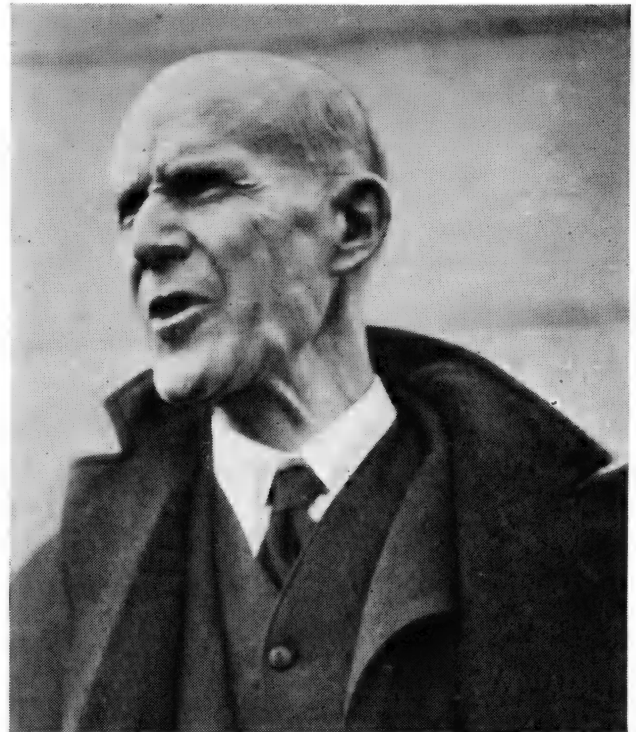
In their Leipzig convention of January 12, the Independent Socialist party urged the German workers to refuse to assist in the manufacture of munitions and to use their influence against the illegal production of arms and munitions, as a means of restoring the world's faith in Germany's intentions.

As a result of a letter from Karl Radek to the German Communist group in the Reichstag, the Communist party in Germany has agreed to support a coalition Socialist government, should one be formed. The manifesto declares: "The Communist party wishes to dispel any doubt as to its attitude toward a Socialist government which adopts the demands now put forward by the masses. Such a government, pursuing a proletarian policy, will be sure of the complete support of the party."

The new Prussian government, containing three Social Democrats,—the Premier, Braun, the Minister of Interior, Severing, and the Minister of Commerce, Siering,—lifted the ban on Communist officials, in a pronouncement of December 30. Communists may now hold office, but candidates who have attempted by an overt act to achieve a violent revolution, are still excluded.

Great Britain

THE workers of Great Britain lost in wage cuts during 1921 more than 250 million pounds, according to a recent number of the *London Daily Herald*. The miners, who suffered a reduction of wages of nearly 50 per cent, have been the chief victims of unemployment. Large reductions were made in wages in the textile and railway industries, and the employers are now urging an extension of hours. The Scottish railway workers have been selected for the next attack, while the building trades, it is predicted, will be com-



Underwood and Underwood

I. P. E. U. 546

CHAMPION OF PEACE

Eugene V. Debs, Whose Release Has Given Impetus to Movement for Freedom for All Political Prisoners

pelled to fight for the maintenance of their 44-hour week. One in every ten of the adult population is now without a job. "The British worker," declares the *Labor Leader*, in dealing with the coal situation, "is now learning that we cannot empoverish a continent without suffering acutely ourselves."

The trade union membership has inevitably suffered. At a recent conference of the National Union of Railwaymen it was reported that the union's membership had fallen from 457,836 in December, 1920, to 406,000 at the end of June, 1921, with further expected decreases. At the beginning of 1921, the trade union membership was 8,502,000, an increase of 5.6 per cent over the preceding year. The 1914 membership was 4,185,000.

This condition is leading to increased interest in labor politics. The British Labor party, which has been fighting consistently against Lloyd George's policies, gained a decided victory on December 14, in the London district, where T. E. Taylor, Chairman of the London Labor party, won in a Parliament election by a majority of 1,618, and a plurality of nearly 4,000. In 1919, Labor was snowed under in this district by an adverse majority of 4,490 votes. The position of the government on unemployment, on the Russian situation, on reparations and on international trade was in part responsible for this change.

That the philosophy of the British Labor movement is permeating to an increasing extent the British universities was evidenced at the first annual convention

Guild offers afforded, or to allow any large number of Guild contracts to be concluded, even where the local authorities were anxious to adopt the Guild method. The Minister of Health stated that, in his view, the Guild method in industry must be regarded as purely experimental, and that only twenty contracts could be sanctioned in order to allow the experiment to be tried in practice. In reaching this decision, there is little doubt that the Minister was actuated by the opposition the master builders were offering to any recognition of Guilds by the Government. At first the master Guilds as certain, and therefore been inclined to ignore them; but, as soon as they realized that the Guildsmen meant business, and had the labor of the building workers behind them, they began to do their utmost to obstruct, by political influence, the growth of the movement. As their pressure increased, the Ministry of Health became more and more unwilling to sanction further Guild contracts, even at the present time, the twenty contracts promised in 1920 have not all been granted, while all further expansion of Guild activities on public housing work have been refused. Moreover, early in 1921, the Minister of Health announced that he would be unable, under any conditions, to sanction further Guild contracts on the basis agreed upon between himself and the Guilds only six months or so before. Exception was taken in particular to the clause providing for continuous pay, and to the refusal of the Guilds to quote a fixed price, thus admitting the principle of private profit.

In order to deal with these difficulties, and also on the basis of their actual experience of working on public and private building operations, the Building Guilds decided, at a National Conference held in the summer of 1921, to adopt a new form of contract, not necessarily to the exclusion of the old, but as one more likely to be acceptable to the Ministry, and also to the private customer. This new contract, known as the "Maximum Sum" contract, differs in certain important particulars from the standard contract drafted in agreement with the Ministry of Health in 1920. Instead of giving only an estimate of the cost of construction, the Guild is now prepared to quote a *maximum* price, which it guarantees not to exceed under any conditions. If the actual cost of construction works out at less than this *maximum*, the purchaser, whether it be a local authority or a private

person, still gets the benefit, and is only charged the actual cost in the sense above attached to the term. But, in order to cover the risk involved in quoting a *maximum* price in face of fluctuating costs of production, the Guild now includes in the cost a small percentage charge, varying with the type of work to be executed, and the sums realized in this way are placed in an insurance fund to be used for the making up of any losses which may be sustained as a result of the *maximum* prices. A further new form of contract, known as the "Guild Labor Contract," is one under which the Guild leaves the purchase of materials and plant to the customer, and confines itself to the provision, organization and control of the labor required for the job. This form of contract, however, is only likely to be used in exceptional cases; and it may be assumed that for the future the "maximum sum contract," or some modification of it, will be the normal method of Building Guild enterprise.

One reason for the adoption of this form of contract lies in the almost complete abandonment, in 1921, of the Government housing program. The Government had failed to get built the houses which it had planned to build; and, having attempted to cast the blame for its failure upon the building trades operatives, it suddenly revised its housing policy and drastically restricted the amount of financial assistance which it was prepared to give to the local authorities for the erection of working-class houses. This meant that, if the Guilds were to expand, they must look to the private purchaser fully as much as to the local authorities for future orders. In dealings with the private purchaser, the first question that would be raised by an individual who desired to build himself a house would be: "What is the *maximum* amount that this house will cost me?" Unless the Guilds are prepared to give a fixed estimate of the *maximum* cost, it would be difficult to get the private individual, with his limited means, to enter into arrangements with them. The Guilds, therefore, when they accepted the *maximum* sum policy, were deliberately making preparations for a great expansion of their work in the sphere of building for the private purchaser. This expansion is already to some extent taking place; and a great deal both of constructional and of repair work for private persons is now being carried out.



Underwood and Underwood

I. P. E. U. 624

STRIKEBREAKING IN BELGIUM

"Civic Union" Operating Switches in Rail Strike Under Protection of Soldiery

of the University Labor Federation, held in late December, at the London School of Economics. "Our job is to be the disturber of the peace of the minds of academic institutions, and that task is not likely to be a sinecure," declared R. H. Tawney, president of the Federation. "On the whole, universities have been on the side of reaction. We want them to become an intellectual seed-plot of a new and better social order." Frank Hodges of the Miners' Federation declared that labor would not get into power through education, but as a result of some great social and economic reaction. Without education, however, it would not stay in power long.

Speaking of the dismissal from Oxford of the editor of *Free Oxford*, a "Communist Journal of Youth," M. L. Perlzweig declared that "there was now a terror at labor tendencies in the universities which would be called the blue terror."

At the suggestion of the Glasgow Trades Council, the Communist party of Great Britain recently requested the executive of the Labor party again to consider admittance of the Communists as a constituent part of the latter organization. The Communists were not admitted last June on account of published statements that they were committed to a policy of disruption. During the last few months they have adopted a new policy, and are prepared, they declare, to live up to the party rules. By affiliation they will become an integral part of the Second International, to which the British Labor party belongs.

Hungary

THE trade unions of Hungary, bitterly persecuted by the Horthy government during the last few years, held their first national congress in three years at Budapest in early December. Discussing the desperate situation in which the workers found themselves on account of the high living costs and low wages, the delegates declared that there was small excuse for hunger in an agricultural country, such as Hungary. They demanded the restoration of the right of organization, of free speech and assemblage, and the right to strike, the cessation of political persecution and the abolition of censorship. The efforts of the "Awakening Magyars," a sort of Klu Klux Klan, to break up their meetings, was unsuccessful.

In an effort, it is thought, to gain the support of Hungarian labor, which he has long persecuted, against the Hungarian monarchists, Admiral Horthy, through Premier Bethlen, recently granted a number of important concessions to liberals and Socialists. The monarchists or Legitimists had recently been making much capital out of the terroristic methods employed against these groups. On December 29, the leaders of the Social Democratic party concluded an agreement with the government under which all the interned members of the party were to be released, their leaders to accept responsibility for their subsequent activities. In return for this concession, it was asserted that the party would support the government in its foreign policy.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

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2. Railroads.

Glenn R. Plumb, "Industrial Democracy" (International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C., 1921).

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Speech by Hon. Robert M. La Follette in U. S. Senate, Congressional Record, March 14, 1921.

CIVILIZATION in the United States is a volume of over 550 pages, comprised of thirty criticisms of different phases of our culture by as many American writers, and three concluding essays in which an Englishman, an Irishman, and an Italian tell how our civilization impresses them. The articles on science, poetry and art are a trifle easier upon us than most, and, although several end with a note of optimism as to the future, the universal tendency is to prick the bubble of our national self-conceit. On the whole, this is done fairly, though it seems hardly right to dispose of the achievements of American medicine with no recognition of the pre-eminence of our dentists over those of every other country; nor, in evaluating American engineering, pass hurriedly by the tremendous feats our engineers have accomplished and dwell on the weakness of a minority of them for a new cult in philosophy.

* * *

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FROM MARX TO LENIN

By ANITA C. BLOCK

From Marx to Lenin. Morris Hillquit, New York. Hanford Press.

AFTER the turbulence of most of the thinking and writing on the question of bolshevist policies, the clearness of Morris Hillquit's book, "From Marx to Lenin," comes as refreshment. "The object of this booklet," states the author, "is to clarify the main issues and problems of the present-day socialistic movement," and in the opinion of this reviewer Mr. Hillquit has certainly achieved his object.

The main storm centers of the discussion are, first, the question of the Bolshevik leader's wisdom in scraping the Marxian law of social evolution—that no social order can give place to a new one before its inherent productive institutions have attained their logical maturity of development; second, the question of the necessity of force in the maintenance of proletarian rule; and lastly the question of the Third (or Moscow) International, with its self-assumed dictatorship over the rest of the socialist world.

As far as the first question is concerned, the continued "strategic retreat" of the Russian communists is the best evidence of the correctness of Mr. Hillquit's contention that Russia was not ready for the "leap over" into complete socialism that the bolsheviks at first sanguinely hoped to accomplish. The bolshevik answer to this is that it was the failure of proletarian revolution to materialize in Western Europe that is responsible, as well as the failure of world capitalism to break down as scheduled. To which the kindest retort is that of Mr. Hillquit, that Russia today is paying a heavy price for the Soviet rulers' enthusiastic disregard of reality.

In a consideration of the second question Mr. Hillquit draws a distinction between the use of force as a principle, and the necessity of resorting to force as a means of maintaining a working class government. He subscribes to the latter policy, stating that when the existence of a working class government "is endangered by counter revolutionary movements . . . it must resort to extraordinary methods of defense," but that "the terroristic method is no more an inseparable feature of the proletarian dictatorship than the soviet is its inevitable form."

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